

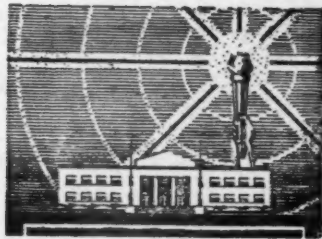
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A PERIODICAL
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME XLV, NUMBER 3

MARCH, 1954

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLV, NUMBER 3

MARCH, 1954

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As the Editor Sees It

The schools have many problems which are inherent in their organization, purposes and needs. Problems of space, curriculum, finance and guidance are a necessary and permanent part of the business of education. There are many other types of problems which are not so inevitably connected with the proper function of the schools, but which the public thrusts upon them. There are such things as summer recreation, job placement, health care, and so on, which are important and which gradually have come to be accepted by the schools from the home, at least to some extent. There are other problems which are comparatively minor, but which nevertheless are time-consuming and unnecessary. Among these is the matter of contests, in which the social studies area is particularly likely to become involved.

Every school is the recipient of scores of requests every year for the encouragement of contests among its pupils. There are essays to be written, posters to be drawn, models and projects to be made, oratorical contests to prepare for, examinations to take, and a dozen other proposed enterprises. All of these things come, not from the school, but from outside it. They come from patriotic organizations, civic committees sponsoring some public cause, business corporations, and many other sources. Most of the sponsors and most of the causes are worthy and commendable ones in themselves; their objectives are usually unselfish or nearly so. Therefore they turn confidently to the nation's greatest "captive audience," the schools, to publicize their interests.

What should be the attitude of the school toward contests of this sort? The answer to this can often be a minor but important problem, depending upon the amount of local pressure. To some extent the schools are protected against phony, worthless or blatantly selfish contests of national scope by the National Association of Secondary School Principals,

which publishes a list of contests which it considers to be at least honest and sincere and to have some educational value. Not only is this a long list, however, but there are also innumerable local enterprises, equally sincere in origin. These usually provide the headaches for the school authorities. A community civic, patriotic or charitable organization will decide that the children should be made more aware of the good cause or of their civic responsibilities. So it asks the school to conduct a contest for the best essay on "The Meaning of the Bill of Rights" or "The Importance of Public Health," and offers a \$10 prize. The school is then placed in a dilemma. If the announcement is made to 500 eligible pupils and left at that, possibly two essays will be written. Modern high school students are not interested in doing the work necessary to produce such an essay with one chance in 500 of acquiring \$10. They know money can be earned more easily than that. As a result the sponsoring organization is deeply disappointed and feels that the school cannot be developing the old-fashioned virtues. But if to avoid this, the school requires every pupil to do the essay as a class exercise, the regular work of the school is interrupted. It is somewhat as though the school were to ask the business men of a community to permit the students to operate their stores and offices for several days a year, as an educational experience.

The school is usually free to ignore national contests which it does not believe will add directly to the program of education. In the local situation the administrator should probably talk frankly to the sponsoring group and point out that there are more practical and realistic ways of accomplishing the desired objective. Schools provide a tempting and ready-made target for all kinds of campaigns, and even the most worthy causes, by their very number, can seriously disrupt the school's basic business if allowed unlimited access to pupils.

The Social Studies

VOLUME XLV, NUMBER 3

MARCH, 1954

Student Self-Evaluation in a Core Program

HELEN E. DEANS

Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida

Spontaneous comments of seventh graders may furnish evidence of personal growth and development. A concept developed earlier with the class may be stated months later by a student as one of his beliefs. Such a statement may be interpreted as evidence of a developing philosophy. A pupil may be told unexpectedly by her mother that her personality has improved. This change, she remarked to her teacher, was brought about partially, at least, by experiences provided in the core class. But these evidences should not take the place of other means of evaluation.

By "evaluation" is meant a comprehensive way of appraising learning, not merely testing for facts included in and understandings derived from an activity or unit of work. This broader way of appraising learning should include ways and means of setting up goals and evaluating the methods used in attaining them. It should include opportunities to determine the degree to which the student has achieved these goals. It should include numerous instruments each serving the special purpose or purposes it is particularly adapted for.

Also included in this interpretation of evaluation is the importance of evaluation by the teacher, the parents, the class as a whole, and the individual student himself. It is with the student's self-evaluation that this article will deal. This self-analysis in no way is intended to replace the teacher's contact with the parents. Report cards are sent to the parents four times a year. Conferences with the parents are held at the end of the first six-weeks period of the

school term and again six weeks before school closes for the summer. Home visits are made by the teacher when further contact with the parents is needed. If the word *evaluation* is interpreted in its broader sense none of these means should be omitted.

The core program referred to in this discussion is a curriculum based upon the needs, problems, and interests of adolescents in our democratic society. The course of study is evolved from the physical, emotional, economic, and social problems of the particular class of students. The learning units, selected cooperatively by the teacher and students, may change and usually do, from year to year. For the first few months of the school year the units usually center around the individual and his life at home and at school. As he understands himself and others better, he is then more able to comprehend the problems facing his community. This area offers opportunities for learning about his town or county and also for actual participation in its improvement. The scope of the areas of concern is broadened in each ensuing learning unit to better show the interdependence of the individual and his state, region, nation, and world.

The learning units are organized around four phases: planning, working, sharing, and evaluation. The initial phase includes cooperative planning related to the area under discussion and possible activities which might better implement these plans. Time is consumed in both class and individual planning. After ways and means are set up to solve the problem, the

class members move into the "doing" or working stage of the unit. When they have completed their work they share it in various ways with the class. Although evaluation and planning are interlaced during the entire study, further evaluation comes at the conclusion of the unit.

The necessary skills in oral and written communication and mathematics are determined cooperatively during the core period. Skills used during the unit may be taught to small groups or individuals during this period. Further practice or directed teaching to the class as a whole, however, would probably come during the skills periods. Arithmetic, Spelling, Grammar, Reading, etc. are an integral part of the learning process and are taught by this teacher in either the core or skills periods.

If the core program is to include guidance and counseling of the student by the core teacher, much opportunity must be given for student-teacher evaluation. In fact, much success of the core program that is based upon the needs of the learners depends upon the students' skill in self-analysis and self-direction. The teacher must see that ample opportunities are offered to help the students discover their weaknesses and strengths before they together can evolve ways and means of satisfying desires and needs. Instruments and techniques used for self-evaluation are important but equally valuable are the methods of development and the processes of using these tools. The isolation and weighing of factors important in the students' growth and development may help focus more vividly their problems, and thus greatly assist in their understanding of them.

This teacher has found the tools described below useful in determining concrete areas of concern of her current seventh grade students. These instruments have been developed during each of the past two academic years by the students as a phase of their core classes. Tools of self-appraisal to be explained are: Self-Rating Scales, a Qualitative Self-Analysis, and a Letter to Parents. Each of these will be discussed in detail.

SELF-RATING SCALES

This instrument of evaluation has been used extensively by this teacher as a means of evaluating growth within the students. Although

the form of the scale is the same in each area of evaluation, the means of developing the tools and the end products are different. Originally the students classified their responses as *good*, *satisfactory*, and *poor*. After an attempt to do this, they concluded that these categories allowed too much subjectivity to color their analyses. After a discussion, they discarded these qualitative degrees. They then attempted to use words that indicated progress such as *improved*, *no change*, and *got worse*. A trial with these words pointed out that an indication of progress, although important, did not state the level of attainment of the student. These too were discarded. The words and symbols (1) *hardly ever*, (2) *sometimes*, (3) *often*, (4) *usually*, (5) *practically always* were then tried. This quantitative scale seemed to be easier for the students to interpret and mark.

In looking at the rating scale one sees, for example, the item "I am careful in all my written work" listed under *Study Habits*. Opposite it are three columns, each indicating the date of the self-evaluation. In these columns the student would place the symbol he felt indicated his status. Further to the right is space for comments made during the student-teacher follow-up conference. A section at the end of the scale provides space for the student's *Plan for Improvement*.

The scale entitled "How Do You Rate Yourself?" was compiled the first week of school during the orientation phase of the core class. The teacher was experimenting with an instrument that may have supplemented or even been substituted for the report card. She needed to determine the students' concepts of evaluation in order to determine the sanctity of the report card. To do this, the students were asked to list items which, in their thinking, indicated things in everyday living they considered of real value to them. Such things as the following were itemized: handing in homework on time, attending school regularly, learning what we're studying in school. Approximately forty-five items were listed on the blackboard as being of utmost importance to at least one student in the class. Students immediately commented upon the overlapping of the items and suggested we eliminate those. After this was done the items were grouped according to their

Name.....

HOW DO YOU RATE YOURSELF?

Below are some phases of your life at school which we agreed were important. Write in your choices on the blanks. In the columns, write the number 1 through 5 which you think best describes you. Use this scale: (1) hardly ever, (2) sometimes, (3) often, (4) usually, (5) practically always.

SCHOOL SUBJECTS	Nov.	Feb.	June	Teacher's Comment
1. The subject I am best in				
2. The subject that is hardest for me				
3. The subject I like best				
4. The subject I have improved most in				
5. The number of library books I have read				
6. The number of days I have been absent from school				
STUDY HABITS				
1. I am careful in all my written work.				
2. I am careful in all my oral work.				
3. I make good use of my time at school.				
4. I try to work independently before asking for help.				
5. I ask for help when I need it.				
6. I accept criticisms and suggestions pleasantly.				
7. I use books and pictures to best advantage.				
8. I keep my notebook so it helps me in my work.				
9. I bring in homework promptly everytime it is given.				
10. I do school work at home even when it isn't assigned.				
11. I concentrate while I am studying.				
12. I plan my work before I begin.				
BASIC SKILLS				
1. I am reading books in my class that I think are the correct reading level for me.				
2. I can pronounce new words when I look them up in the dictionary.				
3. I spell words correctly in my assignments.				
4. I spell words correctly in my written work.				
5. I write so my work is easily read.				
6. I use correct sentence form in all written work.				
7. I use correct paragraph form in all written work.				
8. I speak correct English.				
9. I can do the number combinations and tables in math quickly.				
10. I can work examples using the fundamental processes of whole numbers fractions decimals				
11. I can solve reading problems with whole numbers fractions decimals				

	Nov.	Feb.	June	Teacher's Comment
12. I participate when we form understandings in Core.				
13. I am original in my art work.				
14. I can decide what I need more practice on.				
SOCIAL LIVING				
1. I do my share in group activities.				
2. I assume responsibility for leadership.				
3. I respect the rights of others.				
4. I put a group project before my individual likes.				
5. I am courteous to all my classmates.				
6. I understand myself and classmates better than in the past.				
7. I have more close friends than I had last year.				
8. I enjoy sharing my findings with the class.				

nature. These groups were classified as: school subjects, study habits, basic skills, and social living. Since we did not feel we had defined the items sufficiently, committees were set up cooperatively to explore more thoroughly the four areas. Since every class member selected a committee, these meetings were held during the core class. After considerable discussion within these small groups, some items were deleted, others were added, and still others were reworded. All items acceptable to each committee were turned over to the chairman of that small group. These students, representing each small group, became the final committee. They acted as a clearing committee, studying the items separately and as a whole. After the entire list of items met with their approval, they prepared copies of them and submitted them to the class for its approval or rejection. The items included on the sheet are those accepted by the entire class.

The students rated themselves on their instrument during the first week of November. The next week conferences were held with one or both parents of each student. The scale marked by the student was used to begin the conference. During the conferences the report card was discussed with each parent or parents. It was evident to the teacher by these remarks that the parents wanted the report card sent at intervals as in the elementary school, four times a year. As a result, the rating scale was used as a supplement to the report card.

PLAN FOR IMPROVEMENT

The "Self-Evaluation of Emotional Maturity" served a different purpose from that of the general rating scale. The learning unit, "Growing-up Emotionally," had been our core problem for about three weeks. Books, pamphlets, discussions and motion pictures had furnished us with a wealth of material on the basic emotions and possible ways of controlling them. Efforts were made during the entire study to get the students to apply these ways to their own behavior. Now, at the conclusion of the unit, the teacher wanted to determine whether or not the students recognized the evidences of emotional maturity. The compiling of this scale furnished such an opportunity. Again, the items included in the scale displayed the extent to which the learning unit had been meaningful. If the students were able to recognize the degree of emotional maturity of their own responses, this teacher felt they would be better able to set up individual goals, the fulfillment of which would entail greater maturity.

Each member of the class listed all the indications of maturity he had learned from his study. Again a committee was selected by the students to decide which items collected from the class were to be included on the rating scale. Students who had served previously on the clearing committee were not eligible to serve in this capacity. Thus this scale was developed.

Name.....

SELF-EVALUATION OF EMOTIONAL MATURITY

Below are some phases of your emotional life which we agreed were important. Write in your choices on the blanks. In the columns, write the number 1 through 5 which you think best describes you. Use this scale: (1) hardly ever, (2) sometimes, (3) often, (4) usually, (5) practically always.

	Nov.	Feb.	June	Teacher's Comment
1. I put off unpleasant things.				
2. I take my feelings out on others.				
3. I become emotionally upset when I am thwarted or disappointed.				
4. I worry when there is no cause.				
5. I daydream during classes.				
6. I think more of others than I do of myself.				
7. I talk my problems over with someone.				
8. I am embarrassed easily.				
9. I am easily discouraged.				
10. I try to solve each problem as it arises.				
11. I am afraid of tests even if I know the material.				
12. I let other people decide things for me.				
13. I cry easily.				
14. I try to profit by my mistakes.				
15. I am easily persuaded by other people.				
16. I take part enthusiastically in group activities.				
17. I show off at home or in school.				
18. I prefer to be by myself rather than with others.				
19. I make alibis.				
20. I feel I have as many chances to succeed as other people.				
21. I have a good sense of humor.				
22. I think my family loves me.				
23. I have nightmares.				
24. I think I am better than others.				
25. I get mad when I am left out of things.				
26. I am willing to accept present disappointment for something much better in the future.				
27. I love members of my family.				
28. I am unhappy.				
29. I believe I am the only person who becomes angry, jealous, and afraid.				
30. I am willing to accept responsibility at home and at school.				
31. I just can't seem to sit still.				

A third self-rating scale, "An Evaluation Sheet of Family Membership," was done by a committee of three students, who chose this particular activity. The purpose of the sheet was to furnish concrete descriptions of behavior which, when evaluated at selected intervals, would allow opportunity for improved family living. The function of the students electing

the activity was the selection of behavior characteristics desirable in worthy home membership. Because many of their emotional and social problems were related directly to their life at home, the students felt they should attempt to find ways and means of improving family living. This relationship furnished the motivation for our unit, "Getting Along With

Name.....

AN EVALUATION SHEET OF FAMILY MEMBERSHIP

Below are some phases of family life at home which we agreed were important. Write in your choices on the blanks. In the columns write the number 1 through 5 that describes you best. Use this scale: (1) hardly ever, (2) sometimes, (3) often, (4) usually, (5) practically always.

	January	March	Teacher's Comment
BROTHERS AND SISTERS			
1. I show off when company is around.			
2. I offer to help other members of my family.			
3. I quarrel with my brothers and sisters.			
4. I am into other people's things.			
5. I share with my brothers and sisters.			
6. I play mean tricks on members of my family.			
7. I fuss if my brothers and sisters get more than I do.			
8. I treat my brothers and sisters kindly.			
9. I am annoyed if my brothers and sisters read my mail.			
10. I show my brothers and sisters that I love them.			
11. I get permission from my brothers or sisters before wearing their clothes.			
12. I start fusses by teasing other members of my family.			
13. I do what interests my smaller brothers or sisters.			
14. I help my brothers and sisters with their responsibilities.			
15. I cooperate with my brothers and sisters in other activities.			
MOTHER AND FATHER			
16. I expect my father to pay for everything I buy.			
17. I help my father and mother around the house without being asked.			
18. I quarrel with other members of my family who live with us.			
19. I fuss with my father and mother.			
20. I clean up my room before I go anywhere.			
21. I keep my clothes off the floor.			
22. I talk things over with my mother and father.			
23. I do my work around the house without expecting pay.			

My Family." Some of the topics studied by the class were: causes of quarrels within a family, the role of each member of a family, and the relationship of one's emotions to family living. It was then that the committee attempted to list indications of successful family relationship and to compile them as the rating scale. They did this while other students were working on other phases of the problem. The completed sheet was later submitted during the sharing period to the entire class for criticism. A few errors in the wording were pointed out. When these were corrected by the committee,

the rating scale was adopted as an evaluation instrument.

Both the compiling of the rating scale and the students' appraisal of themselves on the scale were done as an integral part of the core program. These learning experiences offered many opportunities for guidance and counseling by the core teacher. The marked instrument was studied jointly by the teacher and pupil. When actual support failed to substantiate the student's rating, a comment was written to that effect opposite the item in the space provided. During this conference, the plans listed

by the student for his improvement were also discussed. As the student succeeded in carrying out these suggestions, he saw progress in his academic work and growth toward mature behavior. This improvement was indicated on the scale during his next evaluation. As the student better understood himself and continued the process of rating himself on selected items, he seemed to be able to rate himself more objectively in subsequent evaluations.

A QUALITATIVE SELF-ANALYSIS

Another valuable tool used was the self-evaluation written by each student. This analysis was practically non-structured, limited largely by the opportunities for learning that the class had experienced. The student, then, was free to develop his qualitative analysis in any way he chose. Class members orally reviewed the opportunities for learning they had had since the last evaluation period. Such things as materials, experiences, processes, and subject matter were included. As the student wrote, he tried to state not only what he had learned but also how he had used these opportunities. Often the students realized for the first time that they were using only a limited number of opportunities from the many being offered. Others began to see that with additional effort on their part a much better understanding of the problem could have been developed.

The qualitative self-evaluation also offered opportunity for the teacher's studying the written work of the students. Had they used correct sentence and paragraph structure while they were saying that they had learned to do so in their skills period? What further communication skills needed to be further explained and practiced during the skills period? The following statement illustrates that misconceptions often existed: "Our study of grammar has helped me to speak better, using sentences that have verbs in them." What words should be included in the spelling lesson of next week? In fact, the paper itself could be considered a representative sample of the students' compositions. A compiled list of errors furnished the next step in trying to satisfy the grammatical needs of the students.

Application of subject matter to everyday living is frequently cited by the student. The

following statements from students' papers point out a new awareness of a carry-over from the classroom: "The little children around the neighborhood like me a lot better." Or "These social graces have helped me in getting a badge in Girl Scouts." Again, "I used to show off a lot but now I don't. Nobody likes it." From a girl who was showing her first interest in the boy next door, a fruitful setting for family disagreement: "I have noticed that we have not had a quarrel at home since we studied 'Getting Along With My Family'."

Many unsolicited comments and suggestions were written in a matter-of-fact way that might not be spoken to the teacher, regardless of her eagerness to obtain and use pupil suggestions. Rarely would a student make an oral request for a test, yet: "I think the diagnostic test in arithmetic was a good idea, and I think maybe we should have another one to see if we have really improved." Another student wrote: "I need some more help in reading because when I read facts I have so much trouble reading the words I can't get any facts out of it." The teacher became gratified when a student could and did diagnose his problem, then made his own plans for solving it. One student planned to do some homework of her own to try to "work out verbs." She wrote, "I am going to try to study, *begin*, *began*, *begun* because I get mixed up on them."

Often the statements written by students furnished cause for immediate student-teacher conferences. These conferences varied in nature and degree of emergency. Fortunately for the core teacher, few comments as the following are encountered: "It seems that everything is going too fast now and it gets me mixed up. Many times I think I am going crazy with schoolwork, scouts, churchwork, home chores, and my personal recreation." Fortunately too, for the student's mental health, he used the opportunity to write out his personal feelings and concerns. A conference with the student, followed also by one with his parents, convinced all that the statement was of less seriousness than it might have been. Sometimes a few minutes spent individually with the student can do much to clear up a concept or process. The process of student self-analysis offered many opportunities for the teacher to glean evidence of unsatisfied needs.

LETTER TO PARENTS

Another tool used to further self-evaluation as an aspect of guidance in the core program was a letter to the parents. The purpose of this letter, which alternated with the report card, was to offer specific suggestions for improving the students' grades. Again, the process of listing probable suggestions offered opportunities for self-evaluation. The class selected eleven items significant to scholastic improvement to be incorporated in a letter to their parents. A sample of such items was: "took more notes during class discussion," "had a well-organized notebook," and "attended school more regularly." Although some of the suggestions were included on the report card, the students felt the timing and simplicity of the letter would be of value to their parents.

It was during a conference with the core teacher that the student designated his needs by checking those suggestions applicable to himself. The teacher's responsibility was to help him analyze the situation with as little bias as possible. Since these conferences were held at a time when the student felt no pressure of grades, the atmosphere proved to be a healthy one. He was encouraged to use the letter to further evaluate his school work with his parents.

A few parents said they recognized for the first time the specific things their child needed to do to improve his scholastic record. More often, parents began to recognize the greater maturity in their child as he approached his problem with greater understanding. One parent related her pride in her daughter's ability to discuss the letter with her.

Date.....

Dear Mr. and Mrs.

Since I have been unable to talk with all parents personally, I am using this letter as a means of offering suggestions for your child's scholastic improvement. You may wish to discuss all of these factors with him/her, but I consider the suggestions checked as needing his/her immediate attention. His/her grades would probably be improved if he/she:

- 1. Brought in homework each day
- 2. Participated more in class discussion
- 3. Took more notes during class discussion

- 4. Had a well-organized notebook to keep all class notes and records
- 5. Studied harder at home for tests
- 6. Were more careful in all written work
- 7. Were more careful of grammar in oral expression
- 8. Worked each night at home to improve his silent and/or oral reading
- 9. Studied fundamentals (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division) of arithmetic. I have given your child practice sheets.
- 10. Attended school more regularly
- 11. Had a scheduled period for study at home

Please do not hesitate to call on me if I can be of further assistance to you or your child.

(Name of pupil) can make an appointment for you if you wish to talk further about this. I should appreciate any suggestions you may offer since his/her welfare is of great importance to both you and me.

Sincerely yours,

CONCLUSION

The tools discussed above are end-products developed in keeping with this teacher's concepts of evaluation. They were developed cooperatively by the teacher and her students to try to appraise values, goals, and purposes. They endeavor to indicate development of the students in those areas not measured by subject matter tests—areas which influence greatly the degree of success on those tests. They are in keeping with the belief that evaluation should act as a stimulus for self-improvement. Any evidence of progress, indicated by the marked tools, may foster feelings of self-esteem and determination rather than those feelings of insecurity sometimes associated with evaluation.

These instruments were not unique nor were they the only means of evaluation used. Student rating-scales developed by another teacher and her students would probably serve their purposes as well as these served ours. These instruments, often serving as points of departure for further evaluation by the students, parents, and teacher, were rarely used separately. Never were they used to supplant tests on subject matter.

The self-analyses have offered the teacher a better insight into her students. Their approach to self-evaluation indicated to some extent their maturity in solving their problems. These tools of evaluation furnished an opportunity to study the students in light of the problems they considered important at that time. To this core teacher, that point of view was significant. Pupil reaction to the instruments gave evidence, to some degree at least, of the values of the teaching methods and materials used in the classroom.

During the school year, grades improved, personalities changed, behavior matured, and greater objectivity toward self developed. This

teacher believes much of the incentive for learning came through the self-analyses program.

It is true that the use of these tools permitted the pupils to make subjective evaluations. Consequently, this use was a means of the teacher's knowing the thoughts and feelings of her students. These student responses, however subjectively formed, may furnish more evidence for the need of guidance. Through the use of these instruments this teacher tried to help the students discover their weaknesses and strengths. Recognizing these characteristics, she and the students endeavored to evolve ways and means of satisfying their desires and needs.

True Democracy vs. Historical Democracy

SHERMAN B. BARNES

Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

All are familiar with the sleight of mind by which some, including former President Truman,¹ say that the present regime in the USSR is not Communism and that true Communism has never been tried anywhere. Unable to face up to the possible erroneousness of a pet dogma, some are unwilling to see the USSR regime as a logical outgrowth of Marxist socialist doctrines. They seem opposed to the scientific method of testing the truth of a social theory by the consequences it yields when tested and applied in actual events.

A recent experience of the writer with students in his French Revolution class reveals a similar tendency of mind when judging democracy. When his students were asked to state what effect the record of the First French Republic before the Thermidorian Reaction (1792-94) had on their theories about democracy, many stated that what was done during the Terror was not democracy. One stated that "Democracy or any ideology cannot be effected by force." Another believed that "In France democracy was just word magic, a form of semantics, a totalitarian regime hiding under the cloak of a word." A third pupil had a stronger sense of the fact that the National

Convention was truly applying democratic theory to reality. She explained the rigorous persecutions of priests and nobles by the fact that previously the third estate had been mistreated: "... in actuality it seemed more like a complete reversal of the Old Regime—now the nobles were the persecuted ... they were the serfs ... of the Third Estate." Yet, after this interesting explanation of democracy's behavior in practice (reminiscent of Babeuf's), she failed to draw a correct inference and ended, lamely, with: "This is not democracy—but more a phrase."

All three of these students apparently have not yet learned to judge a social doctrine by its pragmatic consequences when applied. They resemble various publicists today who still hold to an ideal Communism and maintain that it has never yet truly been applied anywhere.

Much more historically accurate were the group of several students who realized the events of 1792-94 were an application of democratic ideas, but that possibly "democracy cannot be built from nothing in so short a time." Some felt the men who were applying democracy (Robespierre, Danton) were not sufficiently trained for it, put "too much faith

in the mob" and were unfit to be trusted with "absolute power."

That the views of this latter group of students are truer history than those of the former group can be upheld from the history of the French Revolution itself. The Thermidorian Reaction (1794) was a successful move to end the Jacobin idea of a perfect and final order of democracy; it was based on the idea of restoring liberty and balance which had been crushed by the totalitarian democracy of Robespierre, the follower of Rousseau. Danton himself, imprisoned and about to die (1794), moved beyond totalitarian democracy in his thought when he exclaimed:

This time twelvemonth, I was moving the creation of that same Revolutionary Tribunal. I crave pardon for it of God and man. They are all Brothers Cain: Brissot would have had me guillotined as Robespierre now will. I leave the whole business in a frightful welter: not one of them understands anything of government. Robespierre will follow me; I drag down Robespierre . . ."²

At least Danton knew that what he had lived through was democracy in action and he repented his share in its totalitarianism. At the end he preferred liberty to the idea of a comprehensive creed offering the solution of all human problems.

It is to be hoped, in the interest of liberty and cultural pluralism, that more of our publicists and students will come to judge historical movements such as Jacobinism or Marxism by their own intrinsic patterns of ideas, applications, and consequences. There is danger to liberty and truth from those who feel they know the "true democracy" or "true communism" that have never yet been tried and who brush away the actual historical experience of democracy and communism.³

¹ President Truman is quoted as saying on June 7, 1945: "There's no socialism in Russia. It is the hotbed of special privilege . . ." William Hillman, *Mr. President* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young, 1952), p. 121.

² Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution* (New York: Modern Library), p. 675.

³ See J. L. Talmon, *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* (Boston: the Beacon Press, 1952).

This Modern Bugaboo — Propaganda

ALLAN M. PITKANEN

Jacob A. Riis High School, Los Angeles, California

Because our machine-age century is an era of crisis, bunk, and confusion of thought, an era when all we hold sacred and worthy are caricatured and raucously ballyhooed to open-mouthed idlers in the market-place, propaganda, more than ever before, becomes a key instrument to be used by those desiring power over the gullible masses.

"The trouble isn't that people are too well educated, but that they know too many things that aren't so," characterizes well our present situation. Today, people are under a sort of Svengalian influence, manipulated by an invisible power, to accept whatever viewpoints, tastes, ideas, a certain select group of people wish them to have, people the masses know little or nothing about. Our society consists of such a hodgepodge of dominations and differ-

ences that Truth is lost or torn to shreds in the conflict of opinions. The voice that cries out the loudest, the most repetitiously, appears to have most influence and attracts those suckers who are born every minute, even in our enlightened nation where universal education is a proud boast. Propaganda, however, feeds well in its fertile pasture here.

Propaganda as a designed means of motivation dates back to the earliest times. Chinese war-lords in the fifth century B.C. knew subversive methods that are considered very modern today. The Middle Ages masterpiece, More's *Utopia*, is a propaganda classic. Quintus, brother of Cicero, knew how to win political success in ancient Rome by gentle "glad-handing." Early pedagogical writings advocated strongly the indoctrination of children

in the ways of their elders; realistically, and without a blush, missionaries studied subtle procedures for sowing the seeds of Christianity into the childish minds of the heathen; Machiavelli insidiously and despotically practiced what he preached about coalescing a national state. Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler expertly led the masses to effective revolutionary action, using all the tricks of propagandistic motivation to sway their bewildered peoples. Modern advertisers and publicity-men are anxious to sell the gullible public anything from peanuts to a Martian expedition.

Propaganda, as a word, has two meanings. Most people have dictionary-trouble and find it difficult to fix meanings of live issue terms. The original "propaganda" comes from the title of a missionary committee in the College of Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church (Congregatio de Propaganda Fide—"Society for Propagating the Faith"), active during the seventeenth century. Then, the word meant well; it enlightened intelligence; information was above-board generally and given for one's benefit on good faith, similar to education in its full sense. But, in recent years, propaganda has attained also a *bad* connotation. Whenever fraud or selfishness, a hidden motive, backs up the promotion of action, its propaganda is unjustified and evil. Such propagandistic action does not respect honesty or human personality and is just a low trick to gain unfair advantage over an unsuspecting, trusting, follower.

Modern technology has brought on marvelous communication facilities to hold back or to hasten popular acceptance of social changes with their included perplexities. Our age is the propagandist's heyday. Those early Christian disciples found the writing of epistles tedious work; speaking to a scattered and unlearned few was discouraging work and somewhat unproductive of immediate results. However, Martin Luther, the great German reformer, found the newly invented printing press an amazingly expeditious aid to a speedy propagation of his new ideas. There have been many transition periods in history, but the world has never moved as swiftly in the transmission of ideas, true or false, as it does today.

The printing press, the motion picture, radio and television, are all so well coordinated with

the means of communication that our vast populace knows of events almost instantaneously with their happening. In ancient times, months passed before the nature of faraway events was proclaimed or realized; today, the radio brings the world together to listen-in on the actual scenes of gigantic happenings in a fast changing world and, as well, to the propaganda associated with them.¹

Dictators scatter propaganda with lightning speed and manipulate the masses according to their will *without the people knowing it*. The new propaganda has no good-will behind it; it is an attempt to *condition* the emotions of the masses to *certain* responses to the opposing ideologies that are disrupting the status quo. "Things are seldom what they seem," can truly be said these days. The direct emotional appeal of World War I propaganda is too simple these days. According to the dictators, the world is a bowl of cherries for the one who can best regiment the world-masses to his beliefs by the clever pulling of emotional strings; intelligence is less and less desired in the people because the propagandist is surest of the emotional response which is most *irrational*.

Warring nations suppress or delay news favorable to the enemy and will publish whatever puts the opposition in a bad light to any neutral. In some cases, stories intended to condemn the other side are *invented*. All types of spurious material reaches the public as "news." The public has little way of knowing that this "news" is deliberately being fed to them to make them react in a predetermined way. If this "news" were labeled with its real intent: "This is propaganda promoted by so-and-so," its effect would certainly diminish. It is astounding to realize that now, as during the recent World Wars, there are millions of people fighting or preparing to fight *apparently* of their own choice for a cause they hardly understand. Every war brings forth a bitter disillusion when the rotten mess of butchery is exposed. Insidious propaganda romantically deluded the world in 1914-1918. And to emphasize a later repetition of events, the *Saturday Evening Post* wrote in an editorial about World War II involvement: "How we got into the war we shall not know entirely until we read the history that is now hidden."

How do these manipulators of the masses

influence their citizenry to follow blindly philosophies that so often lack any sense? As has been pointed out by various authorities, two molds of thinking are adopted first. The recipient is made either positive or negative toward something. The "enemy" group is segregated from the "we" group. The "enemy" is to be hated, snubbed, feared, or even killed; he is one who does not act as we do; he is stupid, backward, a heathen, uncultured, vicious, in his ways; perhaps he has body odor, too, to add to his unpleasantness; he is criminal, of course. We identify ourselves with the "we" group, naturally. This group, we hope, is like ourselves. They worship as we do; they belong to our way of life, our town, nation, race; they are well-dressed, smart and sensible; they are to be loved, accepted, and followed. The gregariousness engendered by this phase appeals to us as social creatures. Modern propaganda tends to make matters of life clearly right or wrong; there are to be no shades of difference, no shadows or grays; just blacks or whites.

The "goodwill" feeling can be stretched to the extent that "universal brotherhood" can be achieved only by killing the "enemy" and its supporters; the "righteousness of 'we'" emphasizes our holy mission in all affairs of mice and men, and all parts of the world, having or having-not, must be made content and satisfied with their lot. War is made to appear to those millions of little men who do the fighting and dying as a war of defense against murderous, devilish nations.

Scapegoats must be found and persecuted to reveal to the doubters the real dangers. Cartoons show the wicked, monstrous "enemy" knee-deep in the innocent's blood, bearing a dripping knife and wolfishly howling for more slaughter.

Using World War I as an example for study, it is interesting to read later accounts of the "Satan of the World War," the Kaiser. An English authority on the war, Arthur Ponsonby, in his book, *Falsehood in War-Time*, said this of the Kaiser: "He was an incompetent figurehead with neither the courage to make a war nor power to stop it." Emil Ludwig considered the Kaiser "peace-loving." Lord Grey, Foreign Minister of England in 1914, declared: "If matters had rested with the

Kaiser there would have been no European War arising out of the Austro-Serbian dispute." A wrong system of conducting world affairs or unintelligent clashes of statesmen in personal grievance or diplomatic intrigue could just as easily cause wars to occur as the plotting and wickednesses of the "enemy." Sir Philip Gibbs, a noted British correspondent of World War I, wrote thus of war causes:

A Frenchman, Henri Barbusse, has courage to say that all peoples in Europe were involved in the guilt of that war because of their adherence to that old barbaric creed of brute force and the superstitious servitude of their souls to symbols of national pride based on military tradition . . . he draws no distinction between a war of defense and a war of aggression, because attack is the best means of defense, and all peoples who go to war dupe themselves into the belief that they do so in defense of their liberties, rights, powers, and property.

The rape of Belgium in 1914 did much to arouse a hatred of Germany. After the war was over, Jean de Pierrefeu of the French General Headquarters Staff tells in a publication that the French knew for years that the German attack would come through Belgium, that the French plans were ready for it.

In his study of those early days of August, 1914, William Biddle relates that the French, beaten in open combat and hiding their blunders, insisted with the British that the whole affair was a surprise attack made by a nation supremely prepared to crush helpless Belgium and France. General Percin, in *L'Ere Nouvelle*, tells that the French General Staff and the government expected the Belgium invasion and that *they had planned to attack through Belgium themselves*. The French were to attack first, but the plan miscarried. As early as 1911-1912, after concluding an agreement with Russia, French Artillery-Colonel Picard was dispatched to Belgium with his staff to study the field of operations.

The Germans, facing a horrified world, and, instead of French bullets, French-British propaganda, retaliated by explaining that the attack on neutral territory was prompted by the discovery of papers in Belgium's archives

that revealed the secret agreement of a British-French invasion of Belgium; furthermore, since Britain was invading the rights of neutrals on the high seas, so Germany was fighting for the freedom of the seas and the rights of small nations to trade as they saw fit.

"War is hell," as General Sherman said, no matter who drops the bombs. Atrocity stories are too bluntly propaganda. Subtle methods, such as "illusions of victory," have been used until the people, hungry for news, have begun to doubt all news after the glowing stories of successes have proved false. A counter-method of fear, "Help us or else we, and you, too, perish!" is often adopted to arouse a waning interest. For every fiery nationalist on one side, there is another demanding a greater future for his side—sword-gained; of course. Few people think of using common sense and good feeling.²

In an attempt to formulate ways by which people may determine what propagandists are attempting to accomplish, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, no longer existent, outlined these seven propaganda devices, somewhat rhetorical in nature: Name Calling, Glittering Generalities, Transfer, Plain Folks, Band Wagon, Testimonial, and Card Stacking. In detail, they are:

Name Calling—attaching to an idea a bad name—is used to make us reject and condemn something without examining the evidence. Bad names are powerful, desecrating; reputations have been ruined by them. The cry of "heretic," "Red," "Yankee," "radical," and minor ones like "sissy," "tramp," "unprogressive," "dumb," have motivated some people to great accomplishments, sent others to prison, and made millions mad enough to enter battle and slaughter their fellowmen.³

The Glittering Generality, a most treacherous device, is the associating of something with a "virtue word" to make us accept and approve without looking for evidence. We believe in, fight for, and live by virtuous words about which we have deep-set ideas. Words as "civilization," "Christianity," "democracy," "patriotism," "motherhood," "science," "love," make us quickly receptive to whatever is connected with them. Propagandists are most effective when their words

can make us create devils to fight or gods to adore.⁴

There are certain words so general in meaning, so hard to precisely define, so filled with multiple meanings, that many of us are made easy dupes to gushy, wordy oratory. It is good to remember a certain definition of oratory when hearing political debate: "Oratory is the art of making pleasant sounds which make the hearers say, 'Yes, yes' in sympathy with the performer, without inquiring too closely what he means."

Transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter acceptable. Symbols are constantly used. With the cross, the propagandist lends the sanctity of the Christian religion to his program. The Crusades forced millions of faithful people, young and old, under the name of Christianity, to death and starvation. The flag, standing for the nation and for patriotism, too often is a weapon used by select groups to command mass attention. Cartoonists make Uncle Sam portray an alleged consensus of public opinion. These symbols stir emotions and quicken the heart-beat which, in turn, lead to action. Music, pageantry, uniforms, ritual, scenery—all can be shrewdly used.⁵

The white-haired Kentucky grandfather personifying honesty and goodness sells whiskey to the masses; pretty girls effusing sex sell everything from lotions to cigarettes. Even "democracy" is indirectly sold by insurance companies as they fish for your trust. The patriotic message goes along with business promotion. All Americans are interested in their country's welfare, as the big corporation says it is, and, thus, when Americans decide to make certain purchases, that emotional glow transmitted by so patriotic a company can be counted upon as a powerful factor in swaying their choice of company—without their knowing why they favor one company's product over another.

Plain Folk is a method by which the propagandist attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are "of the people, by the people, for the people."⁶

Even Hitler was seen smiling and shaking

hands with children and women-folk. Roosevelt once wore an old coat with a shredded elbow when he made his good-will tour among the tattered Republican farmers of South Dakota during depression years. Politicians are often outwardly plain folksy, loving little kiddies and common, homey things. Mussolini pitched hay, stripped to the waist in the heat of the Italian sun—a commoner among his peasantry; like them, the “salt of the earth,” and, therefore, wise and good. Radio programs featuring classical music by the finest musicians obtainable, worthwhile educational programs, do much to create a thoughtful reception to the efforts of Big Business.

“Everybody’s doing it!” “Jump on the Band Wagon and go along with the crowd,” fills the stadiums, marches parades down streets, and, in a mad hysteria, to war. Like a barker at a street-corner medicine show, the propagandist employs symbols, colors, music, movement, and all the dramatic arts; he gets us to write letters, send telegrams, contribute to his “cause.” Because he wants us to follow the crowd in masses, he directs his appeal to groups held together by common ties, ties of race, nationality, religion, sex, vocation. Emotion, flattery, fears, hatreds, prejudices and biases—all are used to push the gullible on the Band Wagon.⁷

Thus, Hitler drew “Aryans” to him to purge the “Jews.” Stalin called upon the masses to unite against the “capitalistic pigs.” Roosevelt urged the unemployed to vote for him, the befriender who would not forget “The Forgotten Man.”

Testimonial device consists in having some respected or hated person say that a given idea or program or product is good or bad. We begin a sentence: “The Daily News said . . .,” “John L. Lewis said . . .,” “Roosevelt said . . .,” “Our preacher said . . .” Some of these Testimonials may merely add weight to a legitimate and accurate idea; others may represent the sugar-coating of a distortion, a falsehood, an anti-social suggestion.⁸

People in general too often fail to investigate closely what exactly was quoted or to ask themselves why, in particular, this or that person, organization, publication, has the right to give authoritative information on the subject in-

involved. In their book, *Your Money's Worth*, Chase and Schlink cite this information contained in a circular sent out by an advertising agency:

For those of your organization who require testimonials or specific posing of motion picture players, operatic and theatrical stars, famous athletes, society people and other famous personalities, there is available a new service called Famous Names, Inc., Chicago. (Branches in New York City and Hollywood.)

The fee for the exclusive use of a star is between \$150 and \$2,500, depending upon the standing of the star and the length of time the exclusive use is desired. This fee includes the special posing and signed endorsements. The right to use this service is sold on an exclusive basis, which means a definite protection to the advertiser against duplication in picture, names, and endorsements . . .

The picture of a famous star will always attract copy attention!⁹

Even the aristocratic late-Queen Marie of Romania, when visiting the United States some years ago, was not above posing for various commercialisms, for a fee!

The Card Stacking device, unfortunately, is even more dishonest than card-stacking in a shady poker game; in the card game the player can, at least, see the cards! In propaganda Card Stacking the promoter

has a monopoly on the facts and falsehoods and deals them out as best suits his purpose . . . The *New York Times*, in an editorial dated September 1, 1937, observed: “What is truly vicious is not propaganda but a monopoly of it.”¹⁰

And this brings us to radio and World War II. Card Stacking is definitely a part of radio propaganda, which can all too subtly prostitute the truth. Now with the speed of light, a word flashing seven times around the globe in a second, anybody, with a falsehood or a truth, can reach the inner recesses of homes the world over. With an artful emotional preparation of “sweet” music, radio-listeners can be forced to pay attention to rumor-mongering they would ordinarily shun. Russia, pioneering in radio and ballyhoo, was built up as a nation

like any ordinary prize-fighter is "built up" to become a world champ. Hitler, just as he tested planes in Madrid, tried out radio as a weapon of propaganda in the Saar, in Austria, and other places too numerous to mention. Instances of "tyranny" were radioed to the "oppressed," and the innocent were practically made to "believe" their "guilt." The Axis radio stirred up the Arabs against the British by telling the Moslems they were being "sold down the river" to the Jews, that atrocities and unholy acts were being committed against Islam by the Australians. The German radio regularly filled Latin-American ears with hate for their northern neighbor, U.S.A.

Radio is an integral part of totalitarian power politics. The public at home and the soldiery are exhorted to best efforts by it; neutral countries are made to feel safe and contented by the variety of friendly chats and "news," while the enemy front "gets the works."

A people already controlled by economic pressures can easily be influenced by radio ballyhoo. When Hitler cried, "This is a battle for the life and death of the German nation," unlike Napoleon, he was heard throughout his Reich, and elsewhere. On the eve of battle enemy morale was weakened when radio broadcasts demonstrated that German spies were everywhere, seeing all, knowing all, reporting all. When such radio propagandists as the "Traitor of Stuttgart" knowingly whispered inside information to a bewildered enemy, even sane, hardy souls glanced suspiciously under beds and into closets for scar-faced Nazi-demons. During the French catastrophe the voice of the "Traitor" informed German air-units of French maneuvers before the Frenchmen involved were aware of their moves; even the exact location, the exact time of departure were announced to the amazement of the listeners. A food riot in Caen was announced by the German radio to the French public with eye-witness rapidity. The British near Midlands were dumbfounded by the Dutch radio report that the Germans knew of the location of a secret arms factory in their midst, the exact number of workers employed, the precise location of the air shelters. Two French generals, eating dinner in the Maginot Line and listening

to German radio reports, were given the exact description of the menu they were eating. The German advance to Paris was announced to the French over numerous wave lengths in stentorian, terrifying tones urging the populace to flee for their lives.¹¹ No wonder the French roads were clogged in a chaotic retreat; no wonder French soldiery, disgusted with the treachery, threw down their guns and ran home.

When the Germans advanced into North France, the citizenry were told to abandon what looked like a hopeless battle and to force their government to surrender. The message, booming over the radio on that fatal day of Belgium's surrender, was:

Beneath Germany's crushing action, King Leopold took the decision to put an end to a resistance which had become senseless . . . French soldiers, French citizens, capitulation of Belgium makes the military situation of France as follows: the north part of the Maginot Line has been flanked. It is no longer existant! The west part has lost its value . . . Spare your country and save your lives. Force the government to make peace or drive it out. Stop the rich, the profiteers, and the merchants, the Jews and the English from escaping. Otherwise, they will not fail to leave you in the lurch. Act quickly. Leave the fleeing English to look after themselves. Those cowards, who have no word of honor, do not deserve any better.¹²

Orson Welles' radio-horror tale of a Martian invasion could not have been any worse to the morale of the confused French. The acceptance of the armistice at Campiegne by the French was due largely to the general conviction that Britain's collapse was imminent.

The world sat back, aghast, at the suddenness of the French defeat and wondered why so quickly a great nation had fallen. One of the reasons was that French propaganda was inferior to the German. The French just did too little with the radio to bolster morale. Premier Reynaud gave frequent radio addresses, but instead of being dispassionate and clear in explaining the grave crisis confronting his nation, he often dramatized the truth and added to the demoralization and hysteria caused by his enemy's propaganda. No one seemingly

made any serious effort to inspire a united, courageous front. Music as a soothing force was switched off for a nerve-wracking, repetitious, screaming rendition of the "Marseillaise." until even that stimulating patriotic music took on a worn-out note in the last hours of French resistance. The radio programs were dull compared to those issuing from Germany. Not much reason for French resistance was presented to the people; they were just not "aroused" against Germany; the pep-talks were missing. This clumsy use of propaganda technique proved that the department of "enlightenment and education," headed by M. Giraudoux, a noted writer, was a failure. The popular audience missed the gist of its activities because the talks, skits, and promotion were too intellectual, above their heads. The staff itself was confused; no definite, strong policy of action had been outlined; few members of it really knew the director's aims. The French people, bored, listened often to foreign stations and rarely heard their own broadcasts. The soldiers, entombed during those long winter days and nights in the Maginot Line, found inactivity a demoralizing drug and, without much discouragement from the French officials, listened often to nearby Nazi stations. These were the kind of ideas they heard and brooded over: "The English give their machines; the French, their breasts." "The English will fight to the last Frenchman." "No one ever saw an Englishman at the front; they were all back of the lines spending their time with the wives of the French soldiers."¹³ The civilian's loyalty was effectively undermined by the uncertainty of French war aims, by the rabid attacks on capitalists, Parliament, and Jews; he was continually reminded of the UNCONQUERABLE Germans and given vivid word pictures of the horrors of the blitzkrieg and air attacks that were inevitably to defeat the French. When war came, the French were already in a nightmare of imagined fears and no longer was radio control of the people possible.

The British technique of defense was quite different. Listening to Nazi broadcasts was discouraged as "unpatriotic"; Nazi propagandists were ridiculed and laughed at. The BBC counter-attacked with their bits concerning Lord Haw-Haw and told Germans of the viciousness of their leaders in this tone:

Goebbels... You know the modest way he has. This accounts for the fact that he has told you so little about his castles on the Bergensee with walls decorated with marble, and his country home on the Langensee, his fifty-room mansion in Berlin.¹⁴

British radio propaganda was aimed chiefly at the United States. The program, "Britain Speaks," gave Americans "up to the minute... a really reliable word picture of the very latest world events," and the accent was American.¹⁵ Whenever German successes were generally known such compelling arguments as these came to us:

You haven't any impregnable ramparts; the only impregnable ramparts Nazis would recognize are vast armies, navies, air forces, and at the moment, you haven't them.¹⁶

Or, in a grave advisory way:

I don't believe that Americans can share a world with Nazidom, especially with a triumphant, all-conquering Nazidom. Even if they wanted to, they wouldn't be allowed to. This is no European struggle. It is a world conflict or it is nothing. We regard ourselves as the first line of defense for the other side of the Atlantic.¹⁵

Such warnings were summed up to mean that the British wanted our military and material assistance; that their cause was ours; that we could not afford to lag in our efforts and wishfully hope for a miraculous sudden termination of it all.

Britain's technique in swinging neutral countries her way was to assure them that her cause would win over the enemy's, that her intentions were humane, progressive, right, while those of the opposition were false and vicious. "Britain and all that Britain stands for can never die; she is bound to win the day in the end, because she stands for the right, the good, the true and the noble."¹⁶

In reference to the British shelling of the French fleet at Oran, the German radio likened such action "to that of Herod, who in his mad rage at his inability to lay hands on the Christ Child, ordered the slaying of the innocents."¹⁷

Just as during World War I when Britain formed its Bryce Commission to declare the atrocity stories true and the Germans gathered

their finest intellectuals to draw up the Manifesto to justify the nation's position in the war, so Britain drafted in World War II its best literary and speaking talent to create a sympathetic emotionalism. J. B. Priestley, an outstanding novelist, spoke thus in a vibrant voice to America:

From where I watched, the greatest of the fires was just behind St. Paul's. Silhouetted in dead black against the red glow of the flames and the orange-pink of the smoke, it stood there like a symbol, with its unbroken dome . . . a symbol of an enduring civilization of reason and Christian ethics, against the red, menacing glare of unreason, destruction, and savagery.¹⁸

The *Deutsche Kurzwellensender* proclaimed around the globe "that Britain, the historic imperialist, the traditional tyrant, was the enemy of the world." Skeletons were dragged out of musty, historic closets; South Africans were again reminded of British imperialism; Irishmen again heard of British terrorism; Americans were prompted again concerning mail seizure by the British and told that the development of Canadian aviation was just another attempt by the British to dominate our actions. Germany was again the victim of British aggression—"England declared war, didn't she?" It was Britain's blockade that robbed and frightened shipping from small countries. It was emphasized that Britain, not Germany, was America's greatest commercial rival. Germany, "over 3,000 miles away . . ." was "trying to straighten out some of the political and economic confusion with which central and eastern Europe were plagued."¹⁸ The German Propaganda Office would ask listeners in America, "What has England ever done to deserve American help?" Then, realizing our definite turn toward British assistance and our "shoot on sight" policy, the German tune played the story that the Administration of the United States, by its trickle of aid to England, planned to have both Britain and Germany exhaust themselves in a dog-eat-dog fight in order to rule, by itself, the world.¹⁹

Germans said repeatedly:

Germany now fights for its existence as an independent nation. Germany fights for a living space which is required by a nation

for peaceful economic development and within which it can tolerate no intriguing and no counter-alliances. Germany's living space is Central Europe, allotted to it by nature. To keep opponents out of this space is not aggression . . . Germans do not need any tangible, vague, changeable, so-called ideal war aim; they defend the most elemental, the most primitive, the most indisputable right of existence.²⁰

Germans were giving us history lessons with such vigor and regularity that it appeared as though they were trying to Americanize us. Everything touching our relations with Britain, from the Lexington affair, the burning of the White House, German soldier-heroes in our military forces in the past, to delinquent war debts, was trumpeted into our ears. "Change the names, the dates, serial numbers, and you have the same story that was written twenty-some years ago,"²¹ emphasized their idea that Britain, as in 1914-17, was plotting to drag us into the 1939-mess.

Each combatant harped on the alleged evil war practices of the other. The British stressed atrocities in Poland, France, and Norway, the merciless sea warfare, the plundering of Russia, the bombing of open cities. A BBC newscaster, giving his report, played up very effectively an air raid against England on December 5, 1940. His vibrant voice brought a gruesome picture of battle to millions of Americans listening intently to the radio:

Now, as I speak, bombs are dropping. Five miles high, they are, five miles. Assassination as at Coventry, deliberate, thorough-going, painstaking assassination. Tomorrow there will be another tale of smashed and suffocated men, women, and children and another gratified grunt from the Nazis.

The earlier dull BBC technique had now been thoroughly speeded up and Americanized; small everyday happenings were magnified into world-moving events; an interesting variety of American-known British notables regularly presented their effusions, whether authoritative or not.

At the beginning of the war the British explicitly stated that they would refrain from propagandizing the United States, admitting that they had done so during World War I.

Their 1940 crisis changed this attitude—if they had ever been different. Then, dynamically, they preached that our destinies were inseparable, that our line of defense was England, that Britain should expect our greatest moral and material support. German technique also changed, realizing British advantage here. They attempted to divide American opinion and threatened reprisals if we gave outright assistance to England.²²

Radio has many tongues. It speaks into the farthest corners of the world. Even Gaelic was part of the ten or so languages the Germans used in flooding the world with Nazi doctrines. BBC fluently imparted its information in more than twenty-five languages. All radio-propaganda programs proceeded along these lines:

Audiences are to be soothed, eased into a friendly receptivity with music; skits, dialogues, dramatizations are to indoctrinate as well as entertain; the listener opinion is to be molded by information which resembles, but is not, the *whole* truth.²³

It might be added that prevarication and exaggeration became an integral part of the radio technique of obfuscation. Damaged ships must be radioed as being sunk, if that interpretation furthered the Cause; bombing raids needed magnification in order to profitably use the propaganda possibilities resulting therefrom. Distortion of the facts was illustrated by the German twist to the story regarding a British scientist's discovery of the nutritive value grass has for human beings. The German radio blared out to its British audience that "food is now so scarce in England that you are being advised to eat grass."

Two hundred reporters were called to witness the impressive signing of the German-Italo-Jap alliance in Berlin, not because the alliance constituted news (everything had been decided beforehand), but the fanfare connected with it was a build-up to impress the enemy with the solidarity of fascist states—propaganda designed to frighten the opposition.²⁴

And so the propagandists, mole-like, labor day in and day out, blinding with distortions, deafening with one-sided cries, bewildering the

unknowing masses with lies and confusions of the wildest sort. There is then only one conclusion to draw when it becomes obvious that both sides cannot be heard in logical discussion the world over as easily and as definitely as we hear matters discussed on various high level television forums, when even counter-propaganda to dubious cigarette, liquor, and spurious advertising is seldom heard over the "free" American networks. The common man then has nowhere to turn but to himself. To keep from verging into a sort of hysteria as his reasoning is twisted by a strange variety of "pitchmen," he should repeat to his Inner Self these urgings: "Don't be stampeded, old boy. Beware of those nasty prejudices. Wait until more sides of the issue are presented before taking the plunge. Use that native American shrewdness in figuring what all these quirks, bellowings, vituperations, mean. If we ain't right there to see things happen, try, anyway, to lick this bugaboo somehow by just honestly getting more facts."

¹ Clyde R. Miller, "Radio and Propaganda," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 213 (January, 1941), page 69.

² The general information in the above nine paragraphs is found in a series of pamphlets published by William W. Biddle entitled, "Manipulating the Public—Methods of Modern Propaganda," (1929).

³ Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939) pages 47-49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, page 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, page 92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 105.

⁸ *Ibid.*, page 70.

⁹ Biddle, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Lee and Lee, *op. cit.*, page 95.

¹¹ John B. Whitton, "War by Radio," *Foreign Affairs*, 19 (April, 1941), pages 584-5.

¹² *Ibid.*, page 585.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pages 586-7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, page 589.

¹⁵ Harold N. Graves, Jr., "European Radio and the War," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 213 (January, 1941), page 79.

¹⁶ Whitton, *op. cit.*, page 590.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, page 591.

¹⁸ Graves, Jr., *op. cit.*, page 80.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, page 81.

²⁰ Whitton, *op. cit.*, page 590.

²¹ *Ibid.*, page 591.

²² *Ibid.*, page 594.

²³ Graves, Jr., *op. cit.*, page 76.

²⁴ Miller, *op. cit.*, pages 73-4.

American History Taught Through Travel

GORDON ATKINS*

Bowling Green School, Westbury, Long Island, New York

Recently, students at Franklin K. Lane High School have been experiencing difficulty with the geography and history questions on the State examinations involving locations of states and cities. To correct this situation every social studies class is now including on one unit test during the term a question involving geography. Mr. Samuel Halperin, Department Chairman, knowing of my interest in travel, suggested that I prepare a series of detailed travel quizzes for use of the senior classes. These exercises were prepared with the emphasis on teaching rather than on testing and for that reason they are worded to suggest the answers. The country is broken up into sections which can readily be assimilated by the student.

For example, on No. 1, *Northern United States*, the students are told the night before the test to place a ruler on a map of the United States touching Boston, Mass. and Portland, Oregon. They are to learn the names of states, important cities, major rivers, national parks, great dams, historic places, etc. along this route.

The same device is practiced in subsequent tests, but in these cases an entirely new principle is involved and one which has been entirely neglected in social studies in secondary schools and colleges. Here the purpose is in addition to give the students a knowledge of four of the country's major travel routes and the places of historic and scenic interest along them. In this automobile age, when it is easily possible for a family car, with two drivers alternating, to travel from New York City to Portland, Maine; Columbus, Ohio, or to South Carolina in one day, it seems almost unbelievable that social studies classes which find time to give one period a week to current events have no time to learn how to travel on our

major highways to the many places of historic and scenic interest in this great land of ours.

A recognition of the importance of these roads has just been made in the new best-seller, *U. S. 40*, by George R. Stewart. Well illustrated books by *Look* magazine also divide the country into sections, indicating the things to see and the routes by which they may be reached.

The following tests were hastily devised within a period of one week to meet the need of quickly preparing students for one aspect of the State examination. The author has experimented with different uses of these exercises and would suggest as a further aid to students taking the tests that a large black outline map of the United States be hung at the front of the room and a chalk line be drawn on it to indicate the exact route being followed. Students achieved excellent results on the east-west routes, but experienced more difficulty with the north-south routes, particularly U. S. 11 from Harrisburg to New Orleans.

Samples of the tests follow:

I. *Northern United States*

John and Jack decided on a cross country trip taking in points of scenic and historic interest along the way. Starting in Boston they climbed a famous hill referred to in history books as 1... where one of the first important battles of the Revolution was fought. A few blocks away in the Boston navy yard they went aboard the the famous frigate 2... which served with distinction during the War of 1812.

Leaving Boston on the route followed by 3... in April 1775 they soon reached Lexington, site of the first engagement of the Revolution. Continuing on the same route, they were soon in 4... famous as the home of Emerson, Thoreau and Hawthorne. Here "by the rude bridge that arched the flood" they

*Dr. Atkins formerly taught at Franklin K. Lane H.S. in New York City.

saw "where once the embattled farmers stood" and "fired the shot heard round the world."

Travelling west they reached 5. . . , capital of New York State. Following the road north on the left bank of the Hudson River, they were, within an hour, at the 6. . . battlefield, an engagement which proved to be the turning point of the Revolution. Travelling two or three miles west they entered 7. . . Springs, famous for its healthful waters since the days of the Indians. To the northwest of this city loomed the 8. . . mountains, highest in New York State. Taking the main route west through the Mohawk valley, they noticed frequently near the highway the famous 9. . . canal, completed in 1825. A few miles north of Buffalo at 10. . . they viewed one of the scenic wonders of the world and enjoyed seeing the colored lights on the water at night. Travelling due west across a section of Canada they re-entered the U.S. at the city of 11. . . motor capital of the world. Continuing west they entered the South Bend, Indiana, home of 12. . . , the Catholic College renowned for excellence of its football teams. Within an hour's drive they entered 13. . . largest city of the midwest, famous as the greatest railroad and food distribution center in the world. Travelling northwest they entered Madison, capital of 14. . . a state famous for cheese and dairy products. Travelling west they soon crossed the 15. . . River which drains 2/3's of the continent and not many miles further west they crossed one of its greatest tributaries the 16. . . River which rises in the Rocky Mountains. Continuing west through the badlands of South Dakota, the Black Hills, and the Big Horn Mountains, they entered 17. . . National Park famous for its geyser "Old 18. . ." Leaving the park and following the Oregon trail along the Snake River, they passed through a state named 19. . . One of the principal products of this state 20. . . competes with a major crop produced on Long Island. As they travelled along the Columbia River they recognized 21. . . dam, one of the country's great power projects. They were now in the state of 22. . . which borders Canada.

II. Coast to Coast on U. S. 40

Relishing the thought of a cross-country tour, John and Jack left the Lincoln Tunnel and

were soon on the 1. . . Turnpike. A swift 1½ hr. drive brought them opposite 2. . . , capital of the colonies during the Revolution. A half hour later they crossed the 3. . . River which, some miles north, serves as the boundary of Pennsylvania. They were now on route 40. Leaving Delaware they entered the state of 4. . . , originally founded as a refuge for Catholics. They passed through the state's largest city named after Lord 5. . . and 1½ hours later in Frederick they saw an American flag flying from the window of the tiny house where Barbara Fritchie shouted to rebel Gen. Jackson 6. . . "Shoot if you must this old grey head, but spare your country's flag." Only 25 miles north of this town in Pennsylvania the flower of Lee's army was cut down at 7. . . This marked the turning point of the Civil War and the Great Emancipator, Pres. 8. . . later dedicated these fields saying, "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." They passed through Cumberland and in western Pennsylvania they were 25 miles south of a great city at the junction of two rivers where 9. . . is manufactured. This city 10. . . was named after a British prime minister. As they crossed the 11. . . River at Wheeling they entered the state of 12. . . home of Presidents Taft, McKinley, Hayes and Harding. For many miles now they had been following the route of the 13. . . road, built by the government after the War of 1812 to help pioneers move west.

Continuing west they passed through 14. . . , capital of the Buckeye state and later drove through 15. . . , capital of Indiana. A drive southwest across the state of 16. . . famous for the Lincoln-Douglas debates, brought them to the great city of 17. . . located at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. The city was named after a saintly King of France. They were now travelling in the state of 18. . . , which entered the Union with the state of 19. . . as a result of the Compromise of 1820. Near the western border of the state they passed through the town of 20. . . , home of Pres. Truman and starting point of the Sante Fe, Salt Lake and Oregon Trails. Several miles due west they saw the great meat packing center 21. . . They were soon in a state where John 22. . . had made raids to free slaves,

which was then called "Bleeding 23. . ." In Abilene, a region where 24. . . is grown, they saw the home of President 25. . . Later they entered the mile-high city 26. . . , Colorado. Passing through the 27. . . Mts. they came upon a high dry desert plateau and saw an immense lake. Here Brigham Young, leader of the 28. . . sect, had said, "This is the place" and his followers had erected 29. . . city. Driving across the salt flats they entered the state of 30. . . , where the government has conducted atomic explosion tests. As they left the state, they passed through 31. . . made famous by the '49ers and soon found themselves in Sacramento. Here they visited Sutter's Fort near which 33. . . had been discovered. A short drive brought them to 34. . . , second largest city of California located on the 35. . . coast.

III. *New York City to the Gulf on U. S. 11*

Driving southwest on routes 22 and 202 our friends crossed the 1. . . River, boundary of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. They were slightly north of the point where during the Revolution, General 2. . . made his famous crossing before his attack on the Hessians at 3. . . Just west of 4. . . , the city of brotherly love, founded by 5. . . as a refuge for 6. . . , they saw as a sign 7. V. . F. . , which marked the entrance to the National Park where the Revolutionary soldiers suffered such hardship while the British were occupying their capital 8. . . They turned west on the 9. . . Turnpike and an hour and a half later crossed the Susquehanna River just south of 10. . . , capital of Pennsylvania. Several miles west they reached route 11 and travelled southwest on it for the remainder of their journey. At this point, they were 25 miles north of the 11. . . battlefield which was the highwater mark of the Confederacy and turning point of the Civil War. They passed the state boundary which formerly marked the dividing line between slave and free territory and is popularly called the 12. . . and . . . line. They soon crossed the 13. . . River, boundary of the state of 14. . . and the state in which Washington was born. They were a few miles north of 15. . . Ferry where 16. . . , a man who was later to command all the Confederate armies, captured a famous abolitionist who planned a raid to free slaves. Within a

few years, Union armies fighting in this region were singing in memory of this martyr "17. . . 's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." Entering Winchester, they were reminded of Sheridan's ride. They were now in the beautiful 18. . . Valley known as the "backdoor to Washington" in Civil War days. To their left rose a ridge of mountains made famous by the song "In the 19. . . mountains of 20. . . on the trail of the lonesome pine." On the crest of these mountains runs the Skyline Drive to the Smoky Mountains in Tennessee. At Staunton, they saw the house where World War President 21. . . was born. Thirty miles to the east in Charlottesville, they admired the University of Virginia designed by a famous American whose well-known home, Monticello, is portrayed on back of the 22. . . coin. A few hundred feet from the home of this great American president, 23. . . , is his grave bearing the inscription, "Author of the Declaration of 24. . . , of the Statute of Virginia for 25. . . Freedom and Father of the University of Virginia." On a neighboring hilltop they saw another house designed by the same man. This was Ash Lawn, home of 26. . . , whose name is associated with a document which was a cornerstone of American foreign policy and who served as President during the era of 27. . . Returning to Route 11, the highway soon crossed a small stream on the famous Natural 28. . . Here they saw a marker left by a surveyor 29. . . , who later was known as the father of his country. Leaving Virginia, they entered a state 30. . . known for its dams and power projects. In Greenville, they saw the tailor shop and home of 31. . . , the only president who was ever impeached. The Great 32. . . Mountains National Park, containing the highest mountains in the East, was to their left. Near Knoxville, they visited the atomic city, 33. . . , not far from Norris dam. At Chattanooga, the gateway to Georgia, they visited Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and Chickamauga battlefields where General 34. . . had driven through to take 35. . . , capital of Georgia on his devastating march to the sea. Southwest of Chattanooga in the next state, they visited 36. . . , the steel center of the South, located in the state of 37. . . A drive across the next

state, 38. . . , brought them to Louisiana and the city of 39. . . near the mouth of the 40. . .

River, where General 41. . . won his great victory after the close of the War of 42. . .

Less Classroom Gropings with Historical Grouping

J. A. MYERS

Doylestown, Pennsylvania

The need to find new approaches, novel slants to lesson offerings is always with the efficient teacher. In the field of social studies, the conscientious instructor can and must make his presentations both interesting and valuable to the student. That is not to presuppose that every history teacher should invade the realm of Hervey Allen or Thomas Costain in his method of lecturing. But history itself can be stripped of much of its student-conceived drabness provided the teacher is willing to use his own ingenuity and a good deal of his time in lesson preparations of a "different" nature.

Let it be added here that, many modern authorities to the contrary, the lecture method of instructing can still be of inestimable worth to the pupils. It is not, as has been claimed, the easy way or the lazy way to prepare for classroom meetings. Painstaking research, constant practice and quick and accurate logic and reasoning must go into the moulding of a worthwhile lecture. Woodrow Wilson while at Princeton perfected his method of presentation to the point where his students would spontaneously stand up and applaud when he had scored a point.

While there are undoubtedly hundreds of unusual approaches to the standard history lesson that could be mentioned here, this article will confine itself to just one such presentation. Let's label this the "Uncommon Classifications" method. In other words, the idea is to effect an unusual grouping or distinct category of historical personalities and events which have definite similarities, likenesses and, of course,

real significance. By way of over-simplified explanation, the names of modern day baseball players like Joe DiMaggio, Ted Williams and Bob Feller might be linked together because of their alleged fondness for the same kind of breakfast cereal. To further clear up any ambiguity surrounding the term. "Uncommon Classifications," suppose we list here some historical examples of merit.

Let's begin with the category of ministers' children. The generalization is sometimes made that all preachers' kids are apt to become candidates for the "least likely to succeed" title. The question then arises as to whether or not this assertion can be historically justified. So, we might begin by categorizing history's bad boys who were offspring of ministers. An imposing list could be drawn up—a list that would include Jesse James, bank and train robber *par excellence*; Clement Vallandigham, leading Civil War Copperhead; Aaron Burr, slayer of Alexander Hamilton, a lion (or wolf) among women, and a man who dabbled in treason; John Wesley Hardin, the West's "killingest" killer; Captain William Kidd, whose name conjures up visions of buried treasures and plank walkings; E. A. Harriman, railroad magnate involved in scores of shadowy dealings; and last but certainly not least, Klaus Fuchs, British atomic spy.

The personalities included in that nefarious group would almost be enough to make the most devout parson's boy reach for a few servings of arsenic flavored with strychnine. But before jumping to erroneous conclusions,

take a quick glance at the other side of the ledger. Also fathered by gentlemen of the cloth were Grover Cleveland, Reinhold Niebuhr, Pearl Buck, Stephen Crane, Karl Barth, Albert Schweitzer, Robert Hutchins, Lord Beaverbrook and Woodrow Wilson, to name just a few. All of this leads to such a conclusion as voiced by Tarkington's Monsieur Beaucaire, "... That a man is not his father, but himself."

To ascertain, psychologically, just what effect a man's stature, or lack of it, has on his mental perspective, we can study the pages of history to build up a convincing case for the runt complex theory. The so-called runt complex theory operates on the idea that squat, diminutive men figure in great and ostentatious accomplishments of real importance as partial compensation for their lack of size. Leading figure of the runt category would, of necessity, be Napoleon Bonaparte. Standing only a fraction over five feet, he personifies the small but mighty type. Additions to this classification must include Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant of pre-Civil War debating fame; the diabolical Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini of our own times; Black Daniel Webster, massive of chest but short of stature; an all-Russian trio of Nicolai Lenin, Joseph Stalin and George Malenkov; and Mohandas Gandhi, the Mahatma of the Hindus.

But how about the other side of the slate? How about the truly big men of history, big in deed as well as in physique. Consider, for example, Russia's Peter the Great, our own Sam Houston, and, of course, Abraham Lincoln. Smaller but still formidable figures were those of Andrew Jackson, Frederick the Great, Potemkin and many others, including the strapping, 354 pound William Howard Taft.

Want to add some more special listings? Then try out some American history color schemes—the colors supplied by the surnames of outstanding personalities. Check the Whites, the Grays, the Greens, the Blacks, the Browns who have made their marks in this world. In normal times, Eric the Red might even be included with such a group, but these are unusual times and a gentleman (even a long deceased Viking) with such a monicker might be the subject of a Congressional investigation. Even without Eric, however, there still remain:

1. Commander John White of Raleigh's ill-fated Roanoke colony and the grandfather of Virginia Dare.

2. General Nathaniel Greene, second only to Washington in Colonial military leadership.

3. Captain Robert Gray, discoverer of the Columbia River.

4. Jeremiah Black, Attorney-General in President Buchanan's cabinet.

5. John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame.

6. General Jacob Brown, one of our few competent generals of the War of 1812.

Add to this list the names of Asa Gray (nineteenth century botanist), William Allen White, Moses Brown (who arranged for the construction of the first factory in the United States), Justice Hugo Black and the late William Green and you have a very colorful and impressive galaxy of Americans. For purposes of recording factual history, the name of Darius Green, the aeronautical link between Icarus and the Wright brothers, must be omitted.

Another unusual body might be classified as the prisoner-author division. This would include the names of those men who achieved true literary and historical significance as a result of their jailtime writings. Foremost of these men is Marco Polo, who dictated the story of his amazing adventures in far off Cathay to a fellow prisoner in a Genoese place of incarceration. With Polo would be grouped John Bunyan, William Sidney Porter (O. Henry), Sir Walter Raleigh, St. Paul and Richard Lovelace. However, Willie Sutton's recent venture into the field of literature hardly entitles him to inclusion in so select a group.

History, as such, is defined by one lexicographer as "an account of past facts and events affecting one or more nations or peoples." Now, that word "peoples" is a trifle misleading. For, although people, i.e., the homo sapiens, do make history and vice versa, it is also true that many animals of the four-legged variety have altered drastically the course of human events. It is facetious, of course, to say that his horse, Traveler, made Robert E. Lee the great man that he was. Yet Phil Sheridan and the cause of the Union would have been in dire straits without that magnificent black steed which carried Sheridan from Winchester twenty miles

away—carried him to Cedar Creek just in time to rally his retreating forces with a cry of "Turn around, boys. We're heading the other way." With that one gesture of superb confidence, Sheridan saved the Shenandoah Valley from Early's troopers and in so doing, undoubtedly hastened the end of the war. And we need not remind ourselves as to where Sheridan would have been without his gallant charger.

Hardly of less importance was the horse which carried Delaware's Caesar Rodney into Philadelphia just in time to cast the clinching vote for the Blue Hen state's support of the Declaration of Independence. Too, the good news would probably never have been brought from Ghent to Aix without the swift-moving gait of one of history's four-hoofed heroes. The true importance of the horse is further accentuated by one of Poor Richard's famous ditties which includes in its lines these words:

For want of the horse, the rider was lost.

For want of the rider, the battle was lost.

For want of the battle, the kingdom was lost.

Although the price of pork is always of prime concern to the thrifty housewife, the pig itself is rarely thought of as being a maker of earth-shaking events. Yet pigs have (quite unconsciously, of course) done much to alter the path of mankind's progress. In part, the origins of the First World War can be laid at the front doorstep (or sty) of the seemingly inconspicuous porker. Early harsh feelings were caused between Austria-Hungary and Serbia when the Serbs' pigs, ready for shipment from Austrian seaports, were quarantined by vindictive government officials of the dual monarchy in reprisal for alleged Serbian misdeeds. This engendered bitter hatred between the two countries which eventually culminated in the shooting of Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo. The slaying of Ferdinand sent the civilized countries of the world into a four year orgy of mass destruction.

When America finally entered the war in 1917, the pig again found himself in a position of real importance. Food Administrator Herbert Hoover worked tirelessly to see to it that America's swine population increased. At the time, the need for meat both here and abroad was acute. And animal fats were sorely needed in the manufacturing of munitions. The pig,

noble animal that he is, responded readily to his country's call and on more than one occasion laid down his life for his nation's future security.

On the other hand, a nameless hog must go down in history as nearly precipitating a shooting war between the United States and England. It all happened back in the 1850's when the San Juan Islands off the coast of what is now the state of Washington were occupied by both the British and the Americans. Unfortunately, on one of these islands an inoffensive American swine wandered into a neighboring Britisher's garden and played havoc with the sprouting greens. For his efforts, Mr. Pig was shot by the enraged English garden owner. Tempers flared over the incident and the U.S. government had to dispatch a trouble shooter, General Winfield Scott, to the area in order to bring peace to the land.

But why restrict the list to horses and pigs? Where would Robert Clive and the British Empire have been without the elephants Clive deployed so adeptly at the battle of Plassey in India? All of which calls to mind Hannibal, the Carthaginian genius, and his effective use of battle elephants. Remember, too, Balto, the splendid sled dog who successfully brought life-saving serum through a raging blizzard to Nome, Alaska. And when one thinks of the alterations that animals have made to the pages of history there are reminders of the seals of the Pribilof Islands, the horses of the hordes of Attila, Ghengis Khan (to say nothing of the horses of Aly Khan), and Tamir the Lame. We might recall everything from the lowly rat who spread the bubonic plague of the Middle Ages to the gallant performers in the K-9 corps of World War II. In short, the list is almost inexhaustible and might even be stretched to include Mr. Roosevelt's Fala.

The number of famous individuals who have committed suicide can provide the subject for another special category. Young Bob LaFollette's recent tragic death calls to mind other self-inflicted deaths—the demise of Jan Mazaryk, of James Forrestal, of Hermann Goering. Mystery still surrounds the sudden departures of President Harding, Field Marshal Rommel and Prince Rupert, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. Certainly no

such group could be considered complete without the inclusion of the name of Judas Iscariot.

As a final contribution to listing-lore we might consider those generally anonymous sailors of the U. S. Navy who, by their shore leave antics, have occasioned international crises. Only recently, a youthful tar, having quaffed too much native rum, committed a supreme insult to the statue of a revered patriot in a Caribbean republic. The sailor was merely carrying out the traditions established years ago by land-traveling American seamen. It was back in 1891 that a group of sailors on shore leave in Valparaiso, Chile became embroiled in a fist-swing quarrel with some local Chileans. Fittingly enough the brawl took place in a tavern bearing the unpretentious title of the True Blue saloon. When the dust had

settled, two Americans were found dead. All of this nearly led to a shooting war between the United States and Chile.

In 1914, a group of U. S. naval men loading supplies at Tampico, Mexico were arrested by the revolutionary forces then in control in that country. In eventual retaliation for this and in order to protect American investments in Mexico, the United States landed an armed contingent at Vera Cruz and seized that port. Tempers blazed in both the U. S. and Mexico, and real difficulty was only averted by the swift mediating actions of Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Past lessons would seem to indicate then that our country would avoid many nasty scrapes if we could only keep our sailors on shipboard. That, of course, is asking for the impossible.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Murrell Dobbins Vocational-Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Is the average citizen in a position to make wise decisions on important political, economic, and social issues that confront his local community, the country, and the world today?

Should the schools train its students in this important responsibility of making decisions?

Can the schools do this job?

Are we living in an age where it might be best to leave it to experts (provided responsibility is properly fixed in elected officials) to make most of the decisions on important issues that confront local communities, our country, and the world today?

In the November, 1953, issue of *Social Education*, official journal of the National Council for The Social Studies, Dr. G. Derwood Baker, Professor of Education at New York University and Director of the Joint Council on Economic Education, was quoted as follows:

"In today's world knowledge of economic realities is a requisite of capable citizenship. In his role as worker, salesman, manager, con-

sumer, and voter, the average individual is daily called upon to make judgments that affect the welfare of the economy as a whole. These are decisions that are made at the sales counter, in union meetings, at management conferences, before trade associations, as member of civic organizations, and at the polls. The wisdom or lack of wisdom of these decisions will depend on the *breath of understanding of the principles involved* (Ed. Italics) and of the probable outcome of the various alternative paths of action. These decisions will also be conditioned by the social philosophy and economic convictions of the individual."

In the same issue, Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, former chairman of the President's Council on Economic Advisors, writing on "Persistent Problems of the American Economy," stated:

"... if formal economics is to achieve maximum usefulness by influencing the behavior of workers, citizens, and business men, it must find simplified ways of organizing its data analysis; it must state its generalizations in terms that are meaningful to the practical

problems of economics life as met by people whose training in economics does not go beyond the high school. They are the group who will, in the last analysis, determine how well or ill our economy actually works."

Both these statements raise a number of questions of significance to society as a whole, to the individual, and to educators:

Can we expect our students, now in high school and later as adult citizens, with no more than a high school education (concentrated or diluted as the case may be), really to be able to make wise decisions on such complex economic, social, and political issues as parity prices for the farmer, changes in the excess profit tax, reduction of crime and delinquency, control of atomic energy, or the rearming of Germany?

How many of our better educated citizens, college graduates in all fields, professional and non-professional, really feel that they *know* what is the right course of action to be adopted with respect to many of the issues that trouble the world today?

Finally, to what extent should our secondary schools concern themselves with training young people to make decisions on issues and problems on which even experts disagree and on which even the teachers may feel inadequate?

In the last state and local elections in Pennsylvania the people were asked to vote on proposed amendments to the State Constitution listed below.

"PROPOSED AMENDMENT NO. 1-A: Shall Section one of Article fourteen be amended to permit county treasurers to be eligible to succeed themselves?"

"PROPOSED AMENDMENT NO. 2-A: Shall Section eighteen of Article eight be amended to permit the enactment of laws whereby qualified bedridden or physically incapacitated war veterans, who are unable to go to the polls, may vote by absentee ballot?"

"PROPOSED AMENDMENT NO. 3-A: Shall Section one of Article nine be amended to permit the General Assembly to make special provision for taxing private forest reserves?"

"PROPOSED AMENDMENT NO. 4-A: Shall Section eight of Article five be amended to authorize the Court of Common Pleas of Alle-

gheny County to detail judges of the County Court to hold the courts of Oyer and Terminer and the courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace of that county?"

With the exception of amendment No. 2-A, how many citizens, if called upon to make decisions on the above amendments could feel secure that their decision was a wise one? How many citizens could or would take time out to obtain the pertinent information on the above issues in order to help them make a wise decision?

On a city-wide basis the voters of Philadelphia were asked to vote "yes" or "no" on whether city council should be given the power to make three specific loans. Below is a description of the issues involved in the three loans: **"QUESTION 6—\$19,000,000.** About \$7,000,000 of this sum will be used to complete projects already under way. The balance is to provide capital improvements in various parts of the city."

"QUESTION 7—\$35,750,000. For improvements and extensions to the water and sewage systems. These loans are self-supporting and are not charged against the city's constitutional debt limitation or paid from tax receipts. The money received from your water and sewage charges is used to defray this loan and maintain, improve and extend these services."

"QUESTION 8—\$21,650,000. The state Constitution limits the amount of municipal debt the City Council can incur without the approval of the voters. Therefore, when loans by the council reach this limit they cannot borrow more money unless the public, by popular vote, assumes this indebtedness and thus permits Council to borrow additional sums. If you vote yes on this question, Council will be free to go ahead, within the debt limit, to make long-term loans for municipal improvements without a vote of the people."

On what basis were the citizens able to make intelligent decisions on the above questions?

With the view of gathering significant information on some of the questions raised in these pages the questionnaire which follows has been prepared. It is planned to submit the questionnaire first to persons who have had some college training. It is printed in these pages in the hope that readers of "The

QUESTIONNAIRE

Occupation:.....

Education: (check one) () Post College; () College; () 4 years High School
 () 2 years High School; () below High School

Assume that you are asked to make a decision regarding what course of action should be taken with respect to any of the issues or problems described below. Place a check (✓) in the column to the right of each issue which best describes your reaction.

Nature of Issue or Decision	Reaction A I would have little difficulty in making a decision	Reaction B I would feel insecure in my decision because I don't have all the facts	Reaction C The decision should be left to experts provided responsibility is properly fixed in elected officials	Reaction D Before making a decision I would search for all the pertinent facts
STATE OR LOCAL ISSUES				
1. Improvement of Public Education				
2. Curbing Juvenile Delinquency				
3. Solving our Traffic Problems				
4. Equalizing the Burden of Local Taxation				
NATIONAL ISSUES				
1. Parity Prices for the Farmer				
2. Excess Profits Tax				
3. Size of Various Branches of the Armed Services				
4. Control of Inflation and Deflation				
INTERNATIONAL ISSUES				
1. Control of Atomic Energy				
2. The Veto in the United Nations				
3. Economic Aid to Europe				
4. Rearming of Germany and Japan				

Your name.....
 (If you care to give it)

Teachers' Page" will (1) themselves check the information asked for in the questionnaire and send it to me; (2) will take the initiative to poll their colleagues and forward the information to me. Upon receipt of a significant number of replies, the results and their impli-

cations will be presented in "The Teachers' Page."

Only a representative number of issues and problems have been included in the questionnaire for the obvious reason that the larger the number of items in a questionnaire the fewer people are likely to respond to it.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

FILMS

Colonial Times, 1 reel, sound, color (\$100) or B & W (\$50), issued by Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago 1, Ill.

We see that the beginnings of literature in this country took the form of practical, useful, documents, reflecting the wonders of the new world to which the settlers had come, and the hard pioneer life and deep religious faith of these people. Although the colonial period was not rich in literature as we know it today, it has been and still is an important source of literary inspiration to later American writers. (Jr.H., S.H., Coll.)

Revolutionary Times, 1 reel, sound, color (\$100) or B & W (\$50), issued by Coronet Films, Chicago 1, Ill.

From this period emerged some of the most impassioned pleas for the natural rights of mankind ever produced by a people. The feeling, depth, and beauty of many of these political documents raise them to the level of true literature. This film brings to life the writings of Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson. (Jr.H., S.H., Coll.)

Coronation Day, 20 minutes, color, rental \$5. per day, released by British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

From the procession to Westminster Abbey through the ritual inside the Abbey and the return procession, all the highlights of this splendid "event of the year" are beautifully photographed in full color. In addition to

enlightened commentary, there are excerpts of the actual music which was played during the ceremony. (Jr.H., H.S., Adult)

Foundation Foods, 10 minutes, color (\$90), issued by Avis Films, Inc., Burbank, Calif.

The seven basic foods, grouped according to the U. S. Department of Agriculture Basic Food Chart, are the "Foundation Foods" used wisely by Mrs. Brown in planning meals for her family. Daughter Sally takes a keen interest in helping Mrs. Brown plan the meals, and Mr. Brown and Tom, the son, do their part in following good eating practices. The emphasis is on the seven basic foods, with some reference to the matters of eating slowly, chewing thoroughly, and eating all of the foods served to one. (Jr.H.)

Rembrandt—Poet of Light, 13 minutes, sale (\$65), rental (\$4.50), Black & White, issued by International Film Bureau, Inc., 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

The film is biographical and documentary of the great Dutch painter who was known for his masterful use of light. Visual presentations include many drawings and etchings as well as a large number of his best known paintings such as "Detail from the Night Watch," "Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicholas Tulp," and a variety of "Self Portraits." Rembrandt included his family and friends in his paintings, and examples of his work furnish background for the commentary outlining the life and times, dress and manners of his day. (Jr.H., H.S., Adult)

FILMSTRIPS

America's Stake in Asia, 35 mm, 57 frame filmstrip, \$2.50, issued by Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, New York 36, N. Y.

This filmstrip looks out America's other "front door" at the changing face of Asia, and surveys the stake in world peace, American security, freedom, trade and amity that Americans have in the Pacific. It looks back to Marco Polo's travels and the traditional U. S. friendship for the Orient, surveys the changes that recent years have brought and examines the current critical stage of U. S. relations with Asia in a divided world. This is the fifth in the 1953-54 series of 8 *Times* "Filmstrips on Cur-

rent Affairs," for which the subscription price is \$15. (Jr.H., H.S., Adult)

The Triumph of Parliament, 35 mm, 44 frames, \$3.50, issued by Heritage Filmstrips, Inc., 89-11 63rd Drive, Rego Park, N. Y.

This is the first of a continuing series on the history and meaning of American freedom. It is a chronological study of the rise of the British Parliament as the first great representative institution of modern democratic times. It shows the struggle against the kings in the 17th Century and the part played by the Magna Carta in fomenting this strife. It discusses limited suffrage and prepares the student for the Reform Acts of 1832. (Jr.H., H.S., Adult)

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

CORE PROGRAM

The core program in junior high school is the subject of a number of recent articles.

Sidney L. Besvinick, in *The Clearing House* (December, 1953) discusses "The Planning and Operating of a Good Core Program." He regards the core curriculum as a block of time in which the teachers and pupils work together in order to solve problems which are of common concern to the class.

The advantages of the core curriculum, according to this author, are the growth of pupil participation in the democratic group, better opportunities for guidance, and increased meaningfulness of work to the pupil.

The procedure advocated by Mr. Besvinick, in developing a unit is "plan, act, and evaluate." He points out that some core programs fail because of poor initial planning, over-crowded classes and inadequate supplies and materials. He admits that evidence is not yet available that the objectives of the core program have been and are being attained.

Grace S. Wright of the Secondary Schools Section, of the U. S. Office of Education,

reported core curricular courses offered for teacher preparation by university schools of education (*School Life*, October, 1953).

The Office of Education has published four documents concerning the Core Curriculum. Their titles are:

"Core Curriculum in Public High Schools—An Inquiry into Practices, 1949." *Bulletin* 1950, No. 5. 15 cents.

"Core Curriculum Development—Problems and Practices." *Bulletin* 1952, No. 5. 30 cents.

"The Core in Secondary Schools: A Bibliography." *Circular* No. 323, November, 1952. Free from the Office of Education.

These publications may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

HUMAN RELATIONS

The Nature of Human Relations Studies is the name of a booklet published by the Center of Human Relations Studies of New York University (1953).

The Center, established in 1947 for the purpose of training professional workers in human

relations, is now part of the advanced division of the School of Education, New York University.

Its achievements have been related in the *Journal of Educational Sociology* in three reports. The first published the conceptual framework of the Center's program. The second described the Center's practices in training, field work, and research. The third report traces the development of Conflict Episode Analysis.

Stressing the importance of human relations in education, government and international affairs, industry, social institutions and community development, this last booklet offers a definition of human relations studies, and outlines a practicable program for training and research in institutions of higher learning.

BETTER SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

"For Better Schools in Our Nation" is the title of an article in *School Life* (November, 1953). Its subtitle is "Much Has Been Done—The Job Ahead Is One for All of Us."

Some evidences of the success of the campaign for better schools are:

School bond issues are more successful than before.

Eight thousand communities now have committees or commissions of lay citizens working with their school boards on educational problems.

More national organizations — business, labor, farm, civic, fraternal, professional, religious, veteran, and other—have live educational departments.

National magazines published more articles on public schools last year than ever before.

P T A's and Home and School Associations have twice as many members as they had in 1946.

One of the important and urgent current needs is a program for building schools. One out of every five pupils went to school in the fall of 1953 in a school house which does not meet minimum fire safety conditions.

According to *School Life* there is a severe shortage of elementary school teachers. The elementary schools need 72,000 more teachers than they had last year.

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS PRAISED AND CRITICIZED

In a release of Thursday, December 10, 1953, *Life Magazine* praised the American public high schools which, "in the face of rising costs and enrollments, are serving the cause of education 'at least adequately' and the ideal of a classless democracy 'much more than adequately.'"

Life calls the American free public high school America's first major contribution to the world educational scene. It also states that most of the public high schools are now overcrowded and underequipped.

In contrast to *Life's* praise of the American public high school is the adverse criticism of it by Dr. Harold W. Dodds, the President of Princeton University in *The American Magazine* (Released December 30, 1953).

Dr. Dodds states that the average public high school is not doing an educational job, that its graduates lack the "basic elements of a general education."

He admits that the United States public school system is the first and greatest adventure in free education. However, he believes that, at present, American education is characterized by an assembly-line approach to education geared to slower students and a preoccupation with vocational subjects at the expense of basic subjects. Dr. Dodds accuses the public high schools of not teaching its students how to think.

MIGRANT PUPILS

Mr. Peter Stutz, a reporter on the Rochester, New York, *Democrat and Chronicle*, made a survey in 1952 of several schools in Wayne County, N. Y., concerning the educational problems created by the children of migrant harvest workers. In "following the crops" these children have to get their education on the run. For example, families from Florida go to Wayne County in July of each year to harvest snap beans, cherries and other crops. Their children enter the New York school in September but by Thanksgiving they have left for the South without transfers or schools records. The schools have learned to adjust to the care of their temporary pupils. The young migrants have to learn to adjust to a new environment twice each year.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

Europe and the Mediterranean. By Norman J. G. Pounds. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 437. \$6.00.

This book takes the reader on an interesting and informative journey through all of the countries of Europe and of the Mediterranean area. Not only does it acquaint him with the basic geographic factors, such as the land, the climate, and the vegetation, but—what is much more important—it describes how these factors have helped to shape the lives, history, and economy of the inhabitants. Thus it succeeds, to a remarkable degree, in bringing to him “the richness and variety of the European continent, the great age of its culture, and the roots of its present civilization, deeply buried in the past.” (Preface, P. v). Many of its penetrating observations and conclusions are obviously based on the author’s extensive travels in Europe.

In general, the book is based on the conventional regional framework. The first four chapters provide a survey of the land, climate, soil, vegetation, race, language, nationality, and economic activities. All of the remaining ones are devoted to an analysis and discussion of the various regional areas, beginning with Northern Europe and ending with the Mediterranean countries. The author is justified in including such borderlands as Egypt, Libya, French North Africa, Syria, Israel, Lebanon, and Turkey, all of which have been intimately associated with Europe, particularly in recent times. In his concluding chapter he defines the issues involved in the East-West conflict, which, he maintains, centers around the struggle between the liberal and democratic faith of the West and the totalitarianism of the East. He voices the hope that Western Europe, like the medieval empire, “will protect itself and carry outward, in a great crusading urge,

its liberal and democratic faith into the totalitarian lands which surround it.” (p. 421)

Very helpful and enlightening are the numerous maps, charts, pictures, and other visual aids. Each chapter is followed by a selected bibliography. Written primarily as a textbook for college courses, it can be used very profitably in secondary schools, since the material is presented in an interesting and clear style. Even for the general reader it contains much useful and helpful information.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Stanton: Lincoln's Secretary of War. By Fletcher Pratt. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1953. Pp. 520. \$5.95.

For many years the widely-held historical verdict upon Lincoln’s Secretary of War, Edwin McMasters Stanton, was a general agreement with the famous remark of the Union general George B. McClellan that “Stanton is the most unmitigated scoundrel; the most depraved hypocrite and villain.” Of course, this opinion of McClellan’s was undoubtedly due to the fact that while Stanton was professing undying loyalty to General McClellan and writing to him that “you have never had anything from me but the most confiding integrity,” he was at the same time conspiring earnestly to have him removed from command. Then, too, historical research during the post-Civil War period has led to the general acceptance of the characterization of Stanton given by Gideon Welles, Lincoln’s Secretary of the Navy, when he said, “He is rude, arrogant and domineering toward those in subordinate positions if they will submit to his rudeness, but is a sycophant and dissembler in deportment and language with those whom he fears.” The historians J. G. Randall and Claude G. Bowers have

agreed that Stanton's duplicity was almost a life habit and that his nature was moulded for conspiracy, if not perhaps treachery.

It is with some amazement, therefore, that we find Mr. Fletcher Pratt joining the group of revisionists who are aiming at re-establishing some Civil War reputations. This is the first biography of Stanton in fifty years, and Mr. Pratt tells us that he is determined "not so much to make Stanton an unattractive person as a creditable one" and that his book is "primarily a work of correction" deliberately trying to prove that Stanton's "course through the Lincoln Administration and even during reconstruction, is perfectly logical, honorable, and even obvious."

Such a preconceived frame of reference has led Mr. Pratt as a biographer into many pitfalls which his earlier books on military history have not had. And even in this biography Mr. Pratt shows his mastery of military campaigns; his awareness of wartime personalities and atmosphere; and his skill in telling a moving and thrilling episode. However, we sometimes wonder as we read these detailed army operations, just what connection Stanton had with them, if any.

It is Mr. Pratt's treatment of this characteristic mentioned earlier — Stanton's underhandedness and double-dealing—that mars the value of the book. The author does not face squarely this problem of the apparently tortured and neurotic aspects of Stanton's personality. As one example, when we know that Stanton was the Attorney-General in the Democratic administration of President Buchanan in 1860, and that while in this capacity he sent daily reports concerning what he considered disloyal actions of Buchanan's Cabinet to a leader in the Republican party, we are forced to accept only with great difficulty Mr. Pratt's explanation that after all Stanton was thinking of the best interests of his country and not serving the President personally. As Mr. Pratt says: "It is conceded that this could be considered an outrageous breach of confidence, but Stanton held that his brief was from the Union." If so, then why was it that we also learn that after Buchanan retired to his beautiful home "Wheatland," that we then find Stanton writing many long letters to him denouncing Lincoln?

It is also hard to understand Mr. Pratt's treatment of Stanton during the Reconstruction era. Stanton acted as a Radical Republican spy in the Andrew Johnson Cabinet by forwarding to enemies of the Administration confidential inside information. Here Mr. Pratt suggests that President Johnson might have avoided Stanton's communicating with the outside by refraining from discussing such confidential matters with his Cabinet. Then, too, Mr. Pratt argues that it was Stanton's understanding of public service and his sense of duty to the people of the United States that justified his refusal to resign from the Cabinet of President Johnson at his request and then to invoke the unconstitutional Tenure of Office Act which led Congress to the shameful impeachment of President Johnson. Fortunately Johnson was not convicted, but his acquittal was certainly not through any efforts of Stanton. No, Mr. Pratt's biography will not end satisfactorily the Stanton controversy.

HERBERT R. HERINGTON

Hofstra College
New York

From Lenin to Malenkov. The History of World Communism. By H. Seton-Watson. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1953. Pp. XV, 377. \$6.00.

Hugh Seton-Watson, the son of the late distinguished British historian and expert on the Balkans, Robert W. Seton-Watson, is known in his own right for several works on Eastern Europe. This latest book, "From Lenin to Malenkov," is an introduction to the history of world Communism in this period.

A great part of the work is devoted to Communism and Communists in power in Eastern Europe, China, and, naturally, the Soviet Union itself. Internal problems and the development of the Soviet Union comprise about one fourth of the study. The evolution of Soviet Russia, her state machine and social structure, her ideology as well as her experience, has, in the opinion of the author, profoundly affected the world-Communist movement. The latter "is unintelligible without some knowledge of the Stalinist system" (IX).

The author distinguishes between seven main

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phases in the history of the international Communist movement, each of which is pictured as being closely linked with a phase in the internal development of Soviet Russia. Presently we are probably in a new period, dating from Stalin's death. World Communism is in the main presented as an arm of the Soviet government. The different national roots which have affected its growth are pointed out, but the relative impotence of the various Communist parties in determining national policies is stressed throughout.

The last chapter contains a discussion of the political and social conditions that have favored or hindered Communists in their attempt to seize power. Communism failed, Seton-Watson asserts, "when anti-Communist or non-Communist military force was present in overwhelming strength." Bad economic conditions do not necessarily help Communism, as it helped Fascism in the thirties. The international balance of power, especially the proximity of Soviet Russia to the country in question, and the "resistance or collapse of the state ma-

chine" in the moment of crisis, are held to be vital factors determining victory or defeat of the Communists. The failure of the Hungarian revolution in 1919 was due to an "unfavorable geographical and military situation" (62). Furthermore, the existence in backward countries of an intelligentsia which is both ideally and personally frustrated and of a suppressed peasantry, driven by overpopulation and land-hunger, and the presence of "an exploited and bewildered unskilled working class, and of national humiliation or colonial subjection" (340), give Communists their opportunity.

Survival of the Western World against the Communist threat must be assured by strengthening external and internal defenses. Yet survival is not enough. It must be the aim of Western policy to liberate the peoples oppressed by totalitarian Communist imperialism. While the author rejects the idea of a crusade or a preventive war against the Soviet Union, he, on the other hand, does not wish to accept the "Stalinization of half of humanity as a permanent fact." The oppressed peoples, even the Russian

people itself, can be liberated, yet the means by which this may be accomplished, "are not clear today." "This does not mean," the author assures us hopefully, but rather cryptically, "that they will not become clear or that they do not exist."

Some of the conclusions and thoughts presented are worth pondering about. There are keen insights and many suggestive ideas. But, as a whole, this reviewer, perhaps because of higher expectations aroused by this author's previous works, has been disappointed. Where one would have expected a detailed analysis, one finds often casual explanations. We are told that "Frenchmen are weak only because they think they are." The absence of a "team of ruthless and efficient professional revolutionaries" in Germany in 1918-19, different from the Russian situation in 1917, should itself be explained rather than serve as an explanation. Karl Kautsky, the leading figure and theoretician of German socialism in his time, was not a Jew (14). In spite of its arresting title "From Lenin to Malenkov," the latter's name does not appear in the book, either in its pages or the Index. The comparison of the various situations with which the Communists were faced in different states at various times, is helpful and at times illuminating, but, in the opinion of this reviewer, falls short of being the promised contribution to the comparative study of social and political systems.

In spite of its shortcomings—of some of which the author seems to be aware—this work may prove useful for introduction to this important field as well as a work of reference for the more advanced student.

.....
Marietta College
Marietta, Ohio

ALFRED D. LOW

The Struggle for Poland. By H. Peter Stern. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. vi, 79. \$2.00.

The liberation of the Poles was one of the chief Allied objectives in the last war. Instead of gaining their freedom, however, they were "liberated" by the Red Army and quickly dragged behind the Iron Curtain. How did all of this happen? To what extent were the West-

ern powers responsible? Were the Poles, as some critics have charged, "sold down the river" at the Yalta Conference in 1945?

To answer these and related questions, Mr. H. Paul Stern traces the struggle between East and West for the control of Poland from the outset of the war to the Soviet-style elections of 1947. In six interesting and concise chapters, he summarizes the positions taken by the various governments, both during and after the conflict. With keen insight and calm evaluation he discusses such topics as the role of the Polish government in exile, the Katyn massacre and its consequences, the formation of the Soviet-sponsored Lublin regime, the significance of the Warsaw uprising under General Bor-Komorowski, the Yalta Conference, the role of Mikolajczyk and the Polish Peasant Party, and the Soviet techniques in seizing control of the government. His observations reflect an intimate familiarity with the sources of information.

Not only the invasion of Poland by the Red Army, but "the unwary attitude of the Western allies during the struggle over Poland gave the Soviet Union an advantage which it effectively exploited. While the United States and Great Britain were engrossed in winning the war and regarded political settlements as secondary, the Soviet Union was fighting post-war political battles as well. . . . Russia aimed at complete control over Poland. Under cover of the wartime alliance, she laid the plans which would aid her political ambitions." (P. 60)

This book can be highly recommended to all students and teachers of history. The chronology of events appearing in the appendix should prove very helpful.

RICHARD H. BAUER
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Basic Sociology. By Eva J. Ross. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1953. Pp. viii, 424. \$4.00.

This work by the Professor of Sociology, Trinity College, Washington, like its predecessor, *Fundamental Sociology*, published in 1939, represents an attempt to produce a text for the elementary course in sociology consistent with the teachings of the Roman Cath-

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olic Church. The title is somewhat misleading. While the author mentions most writers who have contributed to the development of sociology and briefly discusses the history and philosophical theories of most of the important social institutions, there is no systematic treatment of any of the topics usually included in an introductory course in sociology. It is rather a presentation of the background materials which Ross considers important for a study of the social sciences from the Catholic point of view.

The book is divided into two parts and five appendices. Part One, including eight chapters, is entitled "The Foundations of Sociology." Sociology and the social sciences, the forms of social life, community organization, human inheritance and personality, theories of inheritance, the influence of environment, human origins, and social processes and change, are considered. A history of social theory, included in the 1939 edition, has properly been placed in Appendix I. The discussions on the forms of social life, community organization, and social processes and change, not found in the old edition, are valuable additions and enhance the value of the text.

In Part Two Ross discusses fundamental institutions from the point of view of history and social philosophy. Included are marriage and the family, political organization, religion, education, property, work, and international organization.

The discussions throughout the book are based upon certain postulates (page 20) which, according to Ross, the Catholic sociologist accepts as self-evident. The approach is historical and philosophical rather than scientific. The book is full of broad generalizations, unsupported by factual evidence. There is little use of sociological terminology. To this reviewer, much of the material does not properly belong in a sociology book.

The book is not without merit. It is a definite improvement over the first edition. The questions for class-room discussion and suggested topics for reports in Appendix IV have been carefully selected and cover a wide range of subjects. They should be a valuable aid to the teacher. The suggested supplementary reading, if followed, will greatly enrich a course based

on the text. The bibliographies in Appendix V are excellent.

MORRIS S. GRETH

Muhlenberg College
Allentown, Pennsylvania

Modern Europe to 1870. Contemporary Europe Since 1870. By Carlton J. H. Hayes, New York City: Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xii, 836, xiii, 785.

To review the two new volumes of Prof. Hayes' new text in European history is somewhat like reviewing the Old and New Testament. Generations of students in American colleges and universities have used Professor Hayes' earlier texts in basic European history courses. Those familiar with his previous volumes will find the new ones contain substantially the mixture as before. It is a very good mixture.

These two volumes differ somewhat from the *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, published some twenty years ago. The revision is more than the addition of some new chapters, for there appears to have been a considerable recasting of much of the old material to make place for the new. Whether the amount of new material introduced in these volumes, and some new interpretations justify the claim that it is essentially a new work is perhaps debatable. Those familiar with the previous texts of Professor Hayes would have no difficulty in recognizing the new. Perhaps the most notable change is the fact that the separating date for the two volumes has been shifted from 1830 to 1870, a minor but melancholy reminder of the troublous character of the twentieth century. To find place for the sad accomplishments of our day it has been necessary to shrink the achievements of previous centuries to about three-fourths of the space allotted in his *Political and Cultural History*. There must be many who believe that anything that diminished the monumental size of the American textbook is all to the good. It is a pity that the shrinking occurs only to make place for new material.

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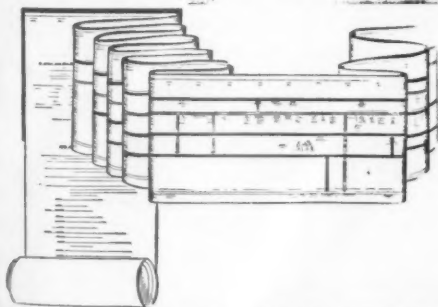
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ARTICLES

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- Tomorrow's Chicago*. By Arthur Hillman and Robert J. Casey. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xxvi, 182. \$3.50.
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